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MESSIAHS

MESSIAHS

THEIR ROLE IN CIVILIZATION

BY WILSON D. WALLIS

American Council on Public Affairs
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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TO EDWIN R. GUTHRIE

But over against them all I set gladness of mind at the remembrance of our past conversations.—Epicurus

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Chapter I

THE MESSIAH

The yearning for a messiah is almost as old as written records. The messianic hope of the Old Testament stimulated the Jewish sect that developed into Christianity, and inspired many other groups. Mohammedanism harbored the messianic concept soon after the faithful embarked upon a conquest of the world in the seventh century. In the aboriginal New World, messianic movements were led by native prophets influenced by Christianity or tribal concepts; there have been aboriginal messiahs in South Africa, New Zealand, New Guinea, and Fiji.

The genesis of the messianic urge lies in man's search for salvation. When human aid fails and the present offers no surcease, man turns to the past for inspiration and envisages a messianic future. In his humdrum existence he is often desperately discontented; vague fears alternate with longings for the impossible. Even when he knows that the forces which encompass him are mightier than he, he refuses to accept his earthly lot. If he cannot remake the world after his heart's desire, he looks to some supernatural, or at least superhuman, being to accomplish the transformation for which he yearns.

Anthropology interprets the remote human past as a world in which men fed and clothed themselves by hunting and fishing, and used stone, wood, and bone as implements. But popular belief, or myth, has long viewed human life otherwise. Many peoples believe that primeval man lived in a paradise without sin, suffering, or death. Such was the paradise of the Hebrews, and, with modifications, of the ancient Greeks, Hindus, and Chinese. In the

Iliad and the *Odyssey* there are tales of men who lived in luxury and ease and exchanged visits with the Olympian gods. The "Age of Gold" was depicted by Heriod at a time when man lived to be very old, without pain or feebleness, and died quietly and peacefully. Early Hindu sacred books describe a first age when men lived in perfect harmony without jealousy or bickering. The rivers flowed with wine, the trees bore delicious fruits, the climate was salubrious, and a thousand years were but as a day. According to Confucian doctrine, men in the distant past lived the simple life. They dwelt in caves, each in amity with his fellows, all groups at peace with every other, and none suffered want. Later Chinese historical, political, and philosophical writers expressed similar ideas.

The Stoics, like Confucius, declared that in the original state of man there were no tyrants, no economic inequalities, but all lived amicably and in plenty. Only the most able were chosen to be rulers and always they cultivated the best interests of the governed. The Stoics declared that "all men are by nature equal" —a concept embodied in Roman and European civil law, in the American Declaration of Independence, and in the teachings of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, and many other advocates of the perfect life.

Hesiod interposed into a presumably earlier scheme of four epochs of human history a fifth; this he designated the Age of Heroes, a period during which men were far superior to their contemporaries in physique, mental abilities, and moral stamina. For the Jews, Abraham, David, Solomon, and others constituted an unofficial sainthood. Every national culture has had its great men of the past, some perhaps entirely legendary. Historic heroes have been enshrined in so much myth and tradition that frequently it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. Who can distinguish the real from the legendary Washington, the real Lincoln from the mythic?

The culture hero, the enlightener, is a universal figure. Classical culture pictured him as Prometheus, who brought to man fire and hope; and many gods or near-gods bestowed other blessings. Apollo taught men music and poetry; Aesculapius gave them medicine. The Jews, too, had, and to some extent still have, culture heroes. Noah saved the human race; Abraham was the great pastoral patriarch; Moses was the law-giver; Aaron the founder of rituals and temple worship. Joshua brought the Jews into the

Promised Land; Saul founded their line of kings; David gave them their capital and holy city. Solomon built their great temple, raised the nation to a place of international importance, and composed hymns and psalms to chasten, inspire, and guide the faithful. Almost every primitive tribe proclaims a culture hero. In northeastern North America the culture bringer was Gluskap; in the northwest coast area he was Raven, or Coyote.

The credit for epochal changes is ascribed to individuals, for cultural forces are usually personalized. The inevitability of gradual change, or the gradualness of the inevitable, is ignored. Individual men receive credit for the great forces of culture drift. There is always a tendency to overlook or, by implication, to deny the great sweep of evolutionary changes and the gradual accumulation of knowledge and skill. Culture epochs are sung in strains of arms and the man, with emphasis upon the man. As we must have our totems and scapegoats, so we must have our culture heroes, men of superhuman stature and ability. Mortals are assigned superhuman roles.

Chapter II

THE YEARNING FOR THE MESSIAH

In all ages, the messiah has been a divine apostle of hope. He has infused old dreams with new vitality, promising a regenerated world to those who accepted him. Emphasizing tribal values and virtues, he has, of necessity, been faithful to his culture; he has responded to its demands, even while imparting to it a fresh meaning.

Hope has always been basic in messianic doctrine. The beasts might anticipate, but man alone has been capable of faith and hope. Man has yearned not merely for his own salvation; he has perceived that his greater good was bound up with that of his fellows. Underlying the messianic doctrine has been man's knowledge that the potential was greater than the actual, that the world has more things in it than he has ever dreamed of, that society has been influenced by dreamers and by men of vision.

Man has recognized a realm of the everyday and commonplace made up of matter-of-fact happenings, but he has recognized also a realm of the supernatural, in which events have other-worldly determinants. When earthly agencies have been inadequate, man has sought help from the supernatural. Frequently, when man's appeal to the gods was fruitless, he has become convinced that a messiah with a promise of deliverance was a new agency of divinity. A proclaimed messiah presupposed a conscious demand for social salvation, accompanied by fairly definite ideas as to how the demand should be met. Belief has pointed the way to performance, and hope has urged man forward. Many peoples have recognized messiahs in times of cultural disintegration when despair cleared the way for hope.

Not all groups have responded to the claims of the messiah. Often, where response was expected, it was not given; and it was sometimes given when least anticipated. Messiahs have been numerous in Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity; they have been rare in Shintoism, Taoism, Confucianism, and many other religious sects. Everywhere, as preliterate and historic civilizations have abundantly illustrated, special needs have been the preconditions of messianism. The messianic hope has been a culture manifestation as truly as it has been an individual response.

No culture has existed in a watertight compartment; each has been influenced by others. The story of messiahs and messianic movements, therefore, has been in part a story of the diffusion of concepts from one culture to another. Some twentieth century expressions of messianism may be attributed to ideas entertained in the Mediterranean world twenty-five hundred years ago.

In the early civilizations of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys the messianic concept played a part in the lives of men for more than a millennium before any known candidate declared himself the long-awaited one. Ancient Egyptians believed that an ideal ruler would bring blessing to land and people, that the god Ra, formerly a king on earth, would return as moral arbiter to dispense justice to all. Subsequently the beloved god Osiris, formerly a king who had ruled righteously on earth, promised rewards to the deserving, peace to the weary and oppressed, and to the bereaved a happy reunion with the dead. It was a short step from gods who were kings to kings who became gods. In the Sixth Dynasty of Egypt the Pharaoh Pepi became the North Star, the Pole Star about which all other stars revolved: "O lofty one among the Imperishable Stars, thou perishest not eternally." Merneptah, heaven-sent protector of Egypt's peace, brought rejoicing.

Nearly fifteen hundred years before the earliest recorded Jewish expression of a messianic hope, the Egyptian prophet Ipuwer depicted the prevalent calamities: the father is at enmity with the son, the virtuous mourn, the wrongdoer is everywhere, the plague rages, crocodiles are glutted with the blood of men who have gone to them of their own accord. "Great and small say: 'I wish I might die'." Ipuwer foretold the coming of the messiah, "bringing with him coolness to the land." If, Ipuwer assured his compatriots, the messiah had perceived the nature of mankind

during the first generation of men, he would have repressed evil, "he would have stretched forth his arm against it; he would have destroyed their seed and their inheritance. Is he sleeping? Nay. Behold, his might is seen."

Ipuwer did not predict the messiah but merely expressed the hope that he would come. His picture of a future Golden Age is comparable with that drawn by the prophets in the Old Testament. Both he and they lamented the evils that befell the people under wicked rulers and painted, in contrast, the ideal kingdom of the future under a righteous king. Possibly Ipuwer's message referred to Ra, creator and sustainer of mankind, whose return to earth, the Egyptians believed, would restore peace and prosperity. Ra was the first king, and subsequent kings were "Sons of Ra." The future messiah, therefore, may have been conceived as a kingly reincarnation of this god who once ruled on earth. If Ipuwer did not predict the coming of the ruler, he at least presented to kings and courtiers a vision of Egypt's resplendent future.

An Egyptian document of a later period placed hope in "a king [who] shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, a child of Amen-Khon. He shall receive the White crown, he shall assume the Red crown [that is, of Upper and Lower Egypt]; he shall unite the Two Powerful Ones; he shall supply Horus and Set with what they love." His advent, declared the document, would have momentous effects: "Those who turn to mischief, who devise rebellion, shall subdue their mouthings through fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall by his sword, the Libyans before his flame, the rebels before his wrath, the froward before his majesty. The Uraeus that dwelleth in front shall pacify for him the froward." The prophecy was written in the Twelfth Dynasty, probably during the reign of Amen-em-het I (Amen). Presumably the writer believed that the reign of the king and the building of the defensive wall to keep out the bedouins would inaugurate an era in which Egypt's evils would disappear. The concept suggested Babylonian attitudes toward Hammurapi and Asurbanipal. The "Vision of Neferrohu," recorded in a papyrus of the Eighteenth Dynasty, contained a plaint similar to that of Ipuwer: "The land is upside down, men take a man's possessions from him: they are given to him who is a stranger. I show thee the possessor as one needy, while the stranger is satisfied." Here, too, disaster was accepted as a prelude to better times.

In Sumeria the ruler was identified with the dying and reviving god Tammuz. His royal office possessed an almost messianic character. The god appointed the king as shepherd and savior of his people. Dungi, king during the last Sumerian dynasty of Ur, was the son of Ninsun, the mother goddess who came to restore the Golden Age that was lost through man's wrongdoing. He was the "Breath of the Life of the Land."

The hymn of Lipit Ishtar (about 2200 B.C.) contains concepts similar to those of the Old Testament. Lipit Ishtar was endowed with power by Anu, who predestined him to be king and proclaimed him the offspring of gods. Akkadians believed that Hammurapi (about 1900 B.C.), was the descendant of gods and their representative on earth, and that he would return and inaugurate a Golden Age of peace. Presumably this messianic concept was known to Mesopotamian Jews during the Babylonian exile. Hammurapi, in his code, announced himself savior-shepherd and king of righteousness, and promised to return to his people. He declared that Anu and Bel had commissioned him to enforce justice in the land, destroy the wicked, prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and promote the welfare of the people.

In the sacred Hindu book, the *Bhavagad-gita,* Krishna said: "For the establishing of righteousness I arise from age to age." In admonition, he proclaimed: "Awake! Be thyself! Arise, Scourge of thy Foes!" It was promised that the tenth avatar of Hinduism should come at a time of universal wickedness and establish on earth a kingdom of righteousness. The role of the Hindu avatar has analogues in Egyptian and Hebrew concepts. According to one version the avatar would preach atheism and would corrupt even the gods; Brahmins would refuse to fulfill their duties and would disregard the rules of cleanliness and defilement; caste distinctions would vanish, kings would stoop to the vilest behavior, children would refuse to obey their parents.

Buddhism, little influenced by Zoroastrian and Hindu messianic concepts, has been a religion of submission. It has urged salvation by acceptance rather than by rejection of the existing order.

Buddhists who believed that "this body is a nest of loathly sores," that every deed had its reward, and that according to the sowing should be the reaping, did not yearn for earthly salvation. Buddhism has held that time was the only savior and that no god or devil fights for man or against him. However, messianic faith

has not been entirely absent in Buddhism. Avolokita, the all-sided one, whose face is turned in every direction that he may see everything and save everyone, has been regarded as a savior superior to other great Bodhisattvas—that is, future Buddhas. According to tradition, to think of Avolokita was better than to honor thousands of other Buddhas; he would come as the thousandth and last Buddha. Indian and Chinese tradition has held that Buddha would return from heaven in the flesh, his arrival attested by miracles. He would establish a kingdom of heavenly truth and justice, would die, and then return to heaven: "I am about to descend and be born among men, simply to give peace and rest to all flesh, and to remove sorrow and grief from the world." In his Bodhisattva vow, Manjusri, a Buddhist god, stated that he did not wish to become a Buddha quickly, but preferred to remain on earth in order to save its inhabitants at the end of the world.

The Buddhist expectation of a king of kings, partly political and partly philosophic and religious, is similar to Old Testament messianic hopes. Gotama, later accepted as the Buddha, fulfilled these hopes, however, only to about the limited extent that Jesus fulfilled Jewish hopes. In spiritual loftiness Gotama exceeded the predicted messiah, yet he only partly satisfied popular desire. Maitreya has been regarded, especially in Mongolian Buddhism, as a future savior. Buddhistic prophecy has held that Krishna will return at the end of time, when physical and moral needs have reached their acme on earth: in the clouds of heaven he will appear upon his white steed; with a comet in his right hand as a sword of flame, he will destroy the earth by fire, establish a new earth and a new heaven, and inaugurate a golden age of purity, perfection, joy, and blessedness.

Zoroastrian belief in the messiah, or Saoshyant, was implied in the *Gathas*, the oldest portion of the Iranian sacred book, the *Avesta*. In the nineteenth *Yast*, or chapter, of the later *Avesta* the belief received full expression. In later *Pahlavi* texts the Saoshyant was portrayed as the greatest and last of the three millennial prophets destined to usher in the day of judgment for all mankind. In supervising the resurrection of the dead, his first duty, the Saoshyant would be assisted by fifteen men and fifteen maidens. A mystic drink would confer immortality upon the resuscitated, and the Saoshyant would recompense each according to his deeds.

The Zoroastrian messiah known as the Taheb played a relatively colorless role. The traditional version of the sacred books

stated that a son of the prophet Zoroaster would be born supernaturally and would proclaim himself a thousand years after the beginning of the new dispensation. Later Zoroastrian belief declared that the messiah would appear at the end of the millennium, sixteen years before the founding of the Arabian dynasty. All early Iranian sacred texts referred to the messiah. Sometimes the term denoted priest, apostle, or saint, as in the *Gathas* and *Younger Avesta;* sometimes it denoted the Saoshyant, the last of the three miraculously-born posthumous sons of Zoroaster, the great apostle who would preside at the general resurrection. The Saoshyant would be conceived supernaturally by a designated virgin while she bathed in the waters of Lake Dansavaya. "We worship the guardian spirit of the righteous Astvat-ereta (Incarnate Righteousness). He shall be called 'Benefactor, Savior' because he will 'benefit, save' all the incarnate world." The *Zamyat Yast* said:

> We worship the mighty Kingly Glory which shall attend upon
> The Victorious One of the Saoshyants,
> And attend his other comrades,
> When He makes the world perfected
> Ever ageless and undying,
> Undecaying, ne'er corrupting,
> Ever living, e'er increasing, ruling at will,
> When the dead again shall rise up,
> When the quick become immortal,
> And, as wished, the world made perfect.

Greek messianism, if it existed, had no perceptible influence on social or religious life, although the Eleusinian mysteries inducted the initiate into a world of saving, if not absolving, grace; rebirth was symbolized in the Demeter and Persephone myths; and in the Dionysian rites divine inspiration was awaited. The teachings of Orpheus in many ways anticipated those of Christ, and he, too, died a tragic death. On the whole, however, there was no clear note of messianism in Greek civilization.

Likewise, early Rome knew no heaven-sent deliverer. Not until the time of Caesar did the Emperor become a god, or the representative of a god, and not until the Augustan age was there an expression of messianic hope. In the *Sibylline Oracles* of Virgil, written some fifty years before the birth of Jesus, the poet sang of the great series of ages to begin anew when the Virgin returned and Saturn again reigned. "Be thou propitious to the

Infant Boy by whom the Iron Age shall expire and the Golden Age over the whole earth shall commence." He should partake of the life of the gods, and "reign over a world in peace, with his father's virtues."

> But do thou, we pray,
> Pure goddess, by whose grace on infant eyes
> Daylight first breaks, smile softly on this babe,
> For in his time the age of iron shall cease
> And golden generations fill the world.

These lines may have been an amalgam of Hebrew prophecy and the Stoic concept of cycles, or they may have been merely an expression of Roman ideas that were developing into emperor worship under the Caesars. Later writers declared that the Golden Age described by Virgil would be inaugurated by Augustus, descendant of a god. Of Augustus, Horace wrote:

> . . . . no boon of nobler worth
> Fate or kind gods ere gave, or ere shall give
> E'en though the golden age upon the earth
> Once more may live again.

Augustus, "a present god," was described as also "a winged god who deigns to don a manly frame." He was a patrimonial Zeus, a savior of mankind, whose prayers providence had answered and exceeded. Under him peace prevailed and cities flourished; men enjoyed the present and hoped for a better future. Similar optimism was recorded in a Halicarnassus inscription of 9-4 B.C. in honor of the birthday of Augustus: "Now is the time ended when men pitied themselves for being born. All-ruling Providence has filled this man with such gifts for the salvation of the world as designate him the Savior for us and for the coming generations; of wars will he make an end, and establish all things worthily. The birthday of God has brought to the world glad tidings. From his birthday a new era begins." Rome found its messiah in Caesar; indeed, Virgil's descriptions of Caesar's virtues are comparable with concepts in the Old Testament psalms and prophecies.

Subsequently, Augustus and Claudius were each called "Savior of the World." Later, Vespasian accepted a messianic role and performed healings and miracles in support of his claims. John of Salisbury believed the prophecy that contemporaries had applied to Vespasian could be applied to Christ: "To whom the

Lord said, 'Ask of me and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession; and his sound went out at the same period into all the earth, through his apostles and their words, until the ends of the world.' " Francis Bacon referred to Tacitus' account of the belief, prevalent in the reign of Vespasian, that one would come from Judea to rule over the world: "though it may be [it] was meant of our Savior, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian."

During the first century A.D., at least two emperors were given messianic status. The millennial hopes of Christians offered comfort both to pagan citizens of the Eternal City and to impoverished Jews.

According to Suetonius, it was prophesied before Nero's death that he would return in the flesh as Lord of the East and be King of Jerusalem. After Nero's death, the Roman populace insisted that he was alive and would return and punish his foes. In 68 A.D. the belief that he had returned spread through Greece and Asia Minor. In Cyprus a slave claiming to be the returned Nero obtained control of the island. The prediction that Nero would be King of Jerusalem implied that he would be the messiah. The revolt of the Jews in 68 A.D. was perhaps inspired by the belief that the messianic era had arrived. "A firm persuasion," Suetonius says, "had long prevailed through all the East that it was fated for the empire of the world, at that time, to devolve on some one who should go forth from Judea." The Jews applied this prediction to themselves and broke out into rebellion. About the time that Titus captured Jerusalem, a report that Nero was still alive and actually on his way to the provinces of the East excited general alarm through Achaia and Asia. This pseudo-Nero was a slave from the Pontus or, some allege, a freedman from Italy. He played with skill on the harp and had a musical voice. With such talents and a countenance that resembled Nero, he was able to impose on the popular mind. He put to sea, was driven by adverse winds to the isle of Cythnus, and there encountered a party of soldiers who were returning from the East. Some of them enlisted under his banner, and those who refused to do so he condemned to death. Wrote Tacitus:

> After plundering the merchants and arming the ablest of their slaves, he endeavored to seduce Sisenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the island of Cythnus, on his way to greet the praetorian bands in the name of the Syrian army and, in token of friendship, to present two

right hands clasping each other. Apprehending danger from so bold an adventurer, Sisenna made his escape from the island. A general panic seized the inhabitants. Many rejoiced to find the name of Nero once more revived, and, hating the new system, wished for nothing so much as another revolution.

About 88 A.D., there appeared among the Parthians a man who claimed to be the returned Nero. He attracted a large and enthusiastic following. According to Tacitus, the Parthians were on the point of invading the Roman Empire to restore this reincarnated Nero to his throne.

Concepts from nearby cultures impinged upon Jews and Romans. Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian beliefs in the divinity of the king and the return of god or king filtered into Judea and Rome. During the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., Jewish and Roman beliefs met on common ground in Palestine and Rome and each influenced the other.

Chapter III

EARLY CONCEPTS OF THE MESSIAH

Tombs excavated on the eastern slopes of the hill of Armageddon, north of Jerusalem, contained scarabs and other sacred symbols dating from the time of the Egyptian social prophets. If, as possibly was the case, messianic doctrines which originated in Egypt reached Western Asia by 2000 B.C., the Canaanites were acquainted with these doctrines long before the Jews invaded Palestine. The Egyptian Ipuwer implied that only the nobility could save the nation. His message could have been a model for Jewish prophecy insofar as it described an evil situation which would grow worse until the people repented. The pattern of Ipuwer's statement was, moreover, strikingly similar to that of the Jewish prophets.

It cannot be demonstrated that Egyptian concepts influenced early Jewish messianism. It has been difficult to identify the first Old Testament expression of the mesianic hope. Some theologians have seen the promise of a messiah in the *Genesis* account of the Garden of Eden. Abraham, we have been assured, foresaw a messiah and a kingdom of righteousness, and "was girded with confidence to the last, though he died without the sight."

Nathan Spira, seventeenth century rector of the Cracow Talmudic Academy, asserted that Moses prayed to God for the appearance of two messiahs, one of the house of Joseph, and the other of the house of David. He based his interpretation on *Deuteronomy* (18:18): "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I command him."

Subsequently many Jewish rabbis drew elaborate parallels between Moses and the messiah. There was no significant messianic note until the Jews developed strong national consciousness as a result of their exile, although *Zechariah* and *Haggai* indicated that messianic predictions were made by prophets of the pre-exilic period. It has been suggested that the messianic concept came to the Jews from a north Arabian Misrite or Jerahme source. If, however, *Ezekiel* (17:22-24; 34:23-24) merely acknowledged rather than created the ideal, the concept of a messiah existed among the Jews before their exile. Before the Assyrian captivity the prophets were concerned mainly with contemporary ills, with remedies, and with repentance. Not until after the captivity was there clear promise of a postponed messianic age in which all wrongs would be righted. No direct evidence has shown that the messianic hope was adopted, rather than created, by the higher prophets or their disciples. The word "messiah" first occurred in *I Samuel* (2:10) and the context suggested that the messiah was the Lord's annointed and that his role was political. The passage in *II Samuel* (7:13-16) which some have interpreted as messianic did not refer to an individual messiah but was merely a promise to David that his kingdom and his house should last forever. It depicted a succession of kings of the line of David who would sin and be punished. Many scholars read into the early accounts concepts which probably arose much later. In tracing the development of the Jewish messianic idea one should take account of the chronological order of Biblical passages, although absence of reference to the messianic hope does not necessarily imply that the concept did not then exist.

There were three types of messianism in Israel. One, centering around the king and the nation, expressed hope for a glorious national future under the house of David. The second type has been apocalyptic and frequently catastrophic, implying a divine warrior who should overthrow the heathen and establish the kingdom of Israel. The third type of messianism has been ethical, spiritual, and universal, almost the antithesis of the first. It has portrayed an ideal state in which love and service actuate ruler and ruled, and the will of Jahweh is realized.

Some scholars believed that Zerubbabel returned to Jerusalem to establish the messianic kingdom, and others have held that the messianic concept was not active among the Jews before the Maccabean period. In *Hosea* the messiah was appointed by Jahweh.

As King of Paradise, or of the paradisaically transformed Canaan, he was regarded as one who would regenerate Israel. Perhaps the messiah was originally thought of as "Friend," and as a son of Jahweh (*Hosea*, 3:5). Another clue to the development of the messianic idea may be found in the title of the twenty-second Psalm: "To the Chief Musician upon Aijeleth Shahar." But Hugh John Dukinfield Astley believed this should be interpreted as "For the Liturgy: to the Tune of the Hind of the Dawn." Possibly the psalm described the triumph of the messiah after his death and descent into Hades, for "The Hind of the Dawn" referred to the rising sun and, in this context, to "our Sun of Righteousness, rising with healing in His wings" (*Malachi*, 4:2). The image of the winged sun was common in Babylonia and Egypt. In the Babylonian *Talmud* the first appearance of light was "the hind of the morning's dawn," a metaphor inspired by an ancient Babylonian description of Merodach as mediator.

In *Zechariah* (1:7-17), Jahweh assured his people that he would return to Jerusalem and that the temple would be rebuilt; yet the divine chariots and horses which traveled over the world, by Jahweh's order, returned with the report that there was no indication of a messianic crisis. The foreign tyrants were gone, Assyria and Egypt were no longer masters, and the autonomy and military power of Israel were restored. But the Jews who returned under Zerubbabel were disillusioned. The commonplaces and hardships in the actual Jerusalem dispelled the glamor that surround the Holy City of their dreams while they were captives in a foreign land. They had not successfully established national autonomy, nor attained the position among the nations demanded by pride and ambition. Out of mingled disappointment and hope there developed the concept of an ideal and distant messiah, rather than an immediate and practical one capable of fulfilling national ambitions. During the reigns of Saul and David the king was the messiah, the "Lord's Anointed." The prophets preached social regeneration and promised, especially during periods of national stress, a messiah who would cleanse the nation and exalt it above all others. Perhaps "the hour in which Isaiah parted from Ahaz gave to the world the thought of the Messiah." Certainly the aggression of Assyria, and later of Babylonia, stimulated messianic hopes.

The Babylonian exile led to a fundamental social, political, and religious transformation in Israel. Destruction of the ancient

state cleared the way for the building of the new. Religion and ritual were revised to conform to political changes. In *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* messianic expectation involves punishment of foreign nations, restoration of Israel, a new covenant, and rule by a king of David's line. The political coloring varied greatly. Some of the prophets ardently longed for supremacy over other nations; others stressed religious regeneration. *Isaiah's* post-exilic prediction of the child to be born—whose name, Emmanuel, signified deliverance of Jerusalem—was a rapturous description of the Coming One as a hero prince, who would perform many godlike deeds. In order to inspire faith and convert the Jews through disaster, Jahweh allowed Assyria to conquer them, "that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is no God beside me." (*Isaiah,* 45.) And post-exilic *Isaiah* (40: 1-2) pleaded:

> Comfort ye,
> Comfort ye, my people
> Saith your God.
> Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem,
> And cry unto her,
> That her warfare is accomplished,
> That her iniquity is pardoned:
> For she hath received of the Lord's hand
> Double for all her sins.

During the lifetime of Isaiah and through the ensuing century, Assyria was a persistent threat to Israel and Judah, and most of Isaiah's prophecies were motivated by a consciousness of the Assyrian threat. Isaiah declared that Jahweh would reign on earth; righteousness would prevail among his people and vengeance would be visited upon his enemies. Another post-exilic messianic faith centered in Cyrus, conqueror of Israel's foes: "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He hath charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem, which is Judah." (*II Chronicles,* 36:23).

The views of the prophets reflected contemporary political conditions and needs. Amos (about 770), Hosea (about 750-730), Isaiah (740-700), and Micah, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, anticipated deliverance from Assyria, and a continuation of the existing political structure. Jeremiah and Ezekiel shared the hope for deliverance from enemies, but insisted that the new era de-

manded a new heart. Later prophets hoped for the restoration of Canaan and the triumph of Israel's God over other gods. Zechariah and post-exilic prophets were absorbed in the hard realities of their world, rebuilding the Temple and restoring the Promised Land. The expectation of national triumph varied with fluctuations in national fortune. In the fifth century, after the Temple had been built, but nothing more accomplished, Ezra and Nehemiah were concerned with the legal-religious organization of the nation and glowing prophecies were forgotten. Later, during the time of Ben-Sirach, the teaching regarding the messiah was indefinite. If the dream of *Daniel* had been realized and dominion over the nations had fallen to the saints of the Maccabean period, perhaps "the king of Israel would have been worshipped as a God, and Jerusalem rather than Rome would have become the seat of imperial cult." When national prosperity flourished, messianic hope waned. There was no messiah while the Maccabean prince Simon ruled, and the Jews, for the most part, were content with their lot. Nor did a messiah appear during the rule of Hyrcanus (135-105), when an almost Davidic splendor prevailed. Not until Israel again fell upon evil days did messianism revive. (In this connection the more important apocryphal and pseudypigraphic books and the dates of their preparation should be kept in mind: *Ecclesiasticus* (or *Sirach*), about 180 B.C.; *Sibylline Oracles*, after 146 B.C.; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, between 109 and 105 B.C. (additions were made probably about 70-40 B.C.); *I Maccabees*, about 100-80 B.C.; *Psalms of Solomon*, between 63 and 1 B.C.; *Zadokite Fragment*, possibly between 18 and 8 B.C., certainly before 70 A.D. Apocalypse of *Baruch*, second half of the first century A.D., probably after 70.)

There was little interest in the messiah after the period of the post-exilic prophets and no messianic note pervaded later Old Testament writings. It came to the fore again only after the Hellenistic conquest and, more emphatically, after the Roman conquest. In the second century B.C., *Sirach* voiced the hopes of a people oppressed by the foreigner. They longed for deliverance and vengeance, and were encouraged by prophecies of an end to their tribulations; the portion of the book which reflected messianic hope was, however, manifestly an interpolation. The Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* predicted that the coming messianic period was not to be expected in the near future, but many events

would precede it. God would send a king who would banish war from every land; "some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows." During the second century B.C., the influence of messianism was negligible, though in the Hasmonian period, about 130 B.C., the belief prevailed that the messiah, in conformity with Jewish prophecy, would establish on earth a glorious terrestrial kingdom. Later, in the first half of the first century B.C., when the nation was ruthlessly oppressed, hope again centered on divine aid. The *Parables of Enoch* conceived the messiah as a supernatural Son of Man enjoying universal dominion and executing judgment on men and angels. Other writers revived expectation of the prophetic messiah from the line of David. Henceforth the messiah became the key figure in the messianic kingdom, and interest centered upon him rather than upon the people. In one version messiah ben Joseph would appear and would be slain; messiah ben David would then come in triumph with Elias.

During the first century B.C. and the century following, the messianic concept appeared frequently in the literature of Palestine, torn by doctrine and political oppression, but hope for a personal messiah was not shared by Alexandrian Jews. They were remote from the center of Jewish political aspirations, and were influenced primarily by the spiritual phases of messianism. Their literature contained no concept of a personal messiah but only of a messianic kingdom in a distant millennium. Palestinian Jews were acutely conscious of threatening calamities, whereas Alexandrian Jews, who viewed events from afar, considered them more dispassionately. Only in later centuries did Alexandrian Jews become turbulent and encounter disaster. Palestinian literature contained diverse expressions of the messianic hope. The *Assumption of Moses* protested against hope for a personal messiah, and urged return to the old autocratic ideal. Portions of the apocalypse of *Baruch*, written before the fall of Jerusalem, that is to say, before 70 A.D., foreshadowed the messiah's advent. Some apocalypses written after the destruction of Jerusalem also cherished hope of a messianic kingdom without a personal messiah. Others anticipated a speedy consummation of the kingdom and an immediate judgment by the messiah.

At least three books written in part or entirely after 70 A.D. —*Baruch. Sibylline Oracles*, and *Abraham*—contained visions of a messianic kingdom but no reference to the messiah. According to

these sources, the messianic age would endure until the last judgment, but would not be eternal. In *IV Esdras* (or *Ezra*), however, the messiah was in the foreground: "When the now invisible city becomes visible, and the land now concealed appears . . . my messiah will manifest himself with those that are with him, and will bring joy to those who remain [alive] for four hundred years" (*IV Esdras*, 7:26). The messiah would rule by the law, continued the book, and through obedience to the law, his people would attain perfection. The end of the world was near. Soon he would establish a temporary messianic kingdom which would terminate with his death. All things would then be silent, and the judgment would ensue. *I Esdras* declared: "In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremy [Jeremiah] might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of the Persians, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persians: 'The Lord of Israel the Most High Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him a house at Jerusalem, that is in Judea.' "

Security lulled messianic aspiration; danger and oppression revived it. For its stimulus Judaism was indebted to many peoples—Babylonians, Egyptians, Romans, and, later, the Christians. Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. dealt a severe blow to Jewish political ambitions but did not annihilate them. Indeed the threat of Rome strengthened the messianic movement. Leaders of Judaism held that the messiah would purge Jerusalem of its enemies. "The sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more." Messiah will destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth.

> He shall judge the nations and the people with the wisdom of his righteousness
> And he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke.

The messianic kingdom would not be one of grace, but one of power and national superiority. The *Psalms of Solomon* depicted a personal messiah, son of David and king of Israel, who would drive the heathen from Jerusalem, smite the ungodly, and restore the scattered Jews to their homeland. The heathen would become his subjects and, of their own accord, would come to see him in his glory. Purified from sin and strong in the holy spirit, he would

rule, not in the might of earthly power, but by the help of the Lord. Wisdom and justice would be the pillars of his throne. Throughout the period of Hellenistic and Roman rule, from 168 B.C. to 135 A.D., the Jews dreamed of universal peace.

Antiochus Epiphanes forced Hellenism upon an unwilling people, but his successors accorded the Jews much religious liberty. In exchange for tribute, they were given even the right of self-government. Roman conquerors set up Semitic tetrarchs to temper Western ideas to Semitic tastes. For the most part, however, Jews did not take kindly to these concessions. In several localities they revolted, and punished Gentiles who fell into their power. Some sixty years after the destruction of the Temple of Titus, Hadrian fought the Jews and repressed, though he did not extinguish, their nationalism.

The *Zadokite Fragment* stated that those who gave heed to the messiah "shall escape during the period of visitation, but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when messiah comes." Some apocryphal books declared that Gentiles and fallen angels would be hurled into Gehenna. When the messiah would come, avers *Baruch:* "Some out of every nation shall be subjected to thy people. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword." Messiah, who, according to *Baruch,* would be a warrior, would slay the enemies of Israel with his own hand; and "against him all the heathen powers are arrayed under a great leader." After the end of the twelfth period, messiah would return in glory. Those who had fallen asleep in the hope of seeing him would rise from the dead, and he would crush the Roman Empire. The concept of the messiah as a man of war gained favor among the Pharisees; and against this tendency the writer of the *Assumption of Moses* protested.

Under the prosperous rule of the Maccabees the prophetic hope for a messiah-king of the line of David was dormant or became an expectation of a great Maccabean priest-king of the House of Levi. When the Pharisees became convinced that their oppression emanated from the king of the Jews, their messianic hope revived. As the New Testament discloses, however, at the time of Jesus, the messianic hope was not stereotyped; its expression took many forms. The reception given Jesus' messiahship varied with the demands of factions and classes. The messianic faith of the Maccabeans was interwoven with hope for national and political redemption, whereas the Pharisees sought to bring the sanctions of

religion into vital touch with life. The aim of the Pharisaic school was reflected in its messianic doctrine, which it impressed upon the synagogue liturgy. Its messiah was a human son of David.

A human messiah was implied also in the doctrine of the Zealots, followers of the rebel Judas of Galilee. Among Graeco-Roman Jews messianism was raised to a high pitch by the edict against the Jews preclaimed by Tiberius and Sejanus, and messianism then became prevalent among Palestinian Jews. Expectation of the messiah was, however, not a doctrine of the Hillelites.

Enoch described the messiah as the Chosen One, Son of God and Son of Man. The pre-existent messiah, said *Enoch*, would establish a kingdom of righteousness and execute judgment upon all. The Elect One, the Son of Man, would sit on the Throne of his glory and would judge the world. The dead Jews would be resurrected, and the righteous would become angels in heaven. Prevailing ethical ideas were reflected in the messianic hope, which attached great importance to the personality of the messiah. Earlier parts of the Ethiopic version, a surviving fragment of literature that once circulated under the title *Enoch*, declared that "the Holy and Great One will come forth from His dwelling, the God of the world, and going from thence He will tread on Mount Sinai and appear with His hosts, and in the strength of His might appear from heaven." All except the elect will be destroyed. Sinning angels will be hurled into "the abyss of fire." The elect—who were the Jews, or perhaps only the Essenes—would enjoy material millennial blessings and universal peace. *Enoch* (94: 6) prophesied the overthrow of the wicked and the exaltation of the righteous:

> Woe to those who build unrigteousness and oppression
> And lay deceit as a foundation;
> For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
> And they shall have no peace.

This interpretation of the millenium, apparently an Essene inspiration, was probably written before the Maccabean struggles. After these struggles, the Jews—for the last time in their history—set up an independent kingdom. Military successes and political independence led to overconfidence. "When the congregation of the righteous will appear, then will the kings and the mighty perish and be given into the hand of the righteous and holy." The Essenes shared with the Pharisees and other Jewish enthusiasts a hope for Jewish supremacy over all nations. Contemporary with

the Essenes in Palestine and with the Therapeutae in Egypt, was an unnamed sect near Damascus, which expected the coming of the messiah as a Teacher of Righteousness, sprung from Aaron and Israel.

With the exception of *Daniel*, the *Psalms of Solomon* (63-48 B.C.) contained the first recorded expectation of the messiah as a person. He was heralded as belonging to the House of David, with the titles of "King," "King of Israel," "King of the Jews," "Son of David," "Christ," "Saviour." For deliverance one should look to heaven; but the blessings of the messianic advent would be wholly material.

> Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their King, the Son of David, Thy servant,
> At the time in which Thou seest, O God, that He may reign over Israel,
> And gird Him with strength, that He may shatter unrighteous rulers,
> And that He may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample [her] down to destruction.
> Wisely, righteously He shall thrust out the sinners from [the] inheritance,
> He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel.

Chapter IV

JEWISH MESSIAHS

The hope for a personal messiah increased after the conquest of Palestine by Pompey. There were political upheavals and many revolts against the Roman rulers; and the prophets had foretold that the messiah would come in such troubled times. Judaism, many of its adherents believed, was gaining strength throughout the world. There was rejoicing in Jerusalem when Helena, Queen of Adiaben, offered sacrifice in the Temple. The people believed that the messiah predicted by Isaiah would soon appear and would banish their troubles by overcoming the Roman Empire. When Jesus of Nazareth was a child, Judas of Galilee led a revolt. The enthusiastic response to his message implied a firm expectation of a redeemer. His followers defeated the first soldiers sent against them, but Judas was soon captured and crucified as a rebel.

During the first century A.D. belief in the coming of a triumphant messiah was widespread in Jewish communities throughout the Roman Empire. Suetonius, Tacitus, and others referred to it. Josephus, unsympathetic toward Jewish messianism, discounted the belief and made no reference to certain expressions of it with which he was certainly familiar. Before the preaching of John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, the outrages of Pilate encouraged several near-messiahs. One of these, a Samaritan, summoned fellow-patriots to Mount Gerizzim, and in proof of his divine mission promised to show them the ark and the sacred vessels made by Moses. These objects, according to the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (written probably in the first century B.C.) had been

buried in the mountain. Before the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., according to legend, the Tabernacle and its sacred furniture had been hidden in a cave on Mount Nebo, and were awaiting restoration upon the appearance of the messiah. Many followers of the Samaritan took up arms in his defense. The Romans knew the political danger inherent in religious fervor and they promptly quelled the uprising.

Simon Magus, a Samaritan and a contemporary of Jesus, was believed by many Samaritans to be a human manifestation of divine power. He was an epiphany, an avatar, of that Supreme Power of which the gods are partial embodiments. To his followers he was "the Power of God which is called Great." His activities are described in the *Clementine Homilies* and by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. Although he had considerable influence, he left no enduring impression upon religious tradition.

The period of great oppression, from about 180 B.C. to about 100 A.D., was spiritually a fruitful period in Jewish life. Philo (?20 B.C.-?50 A.D.) wrote that the scattered Jews would return to their land, led by "a certain appearance more divine than human." Some scholars believed that this passage referred to the messiah but, since the "appearance" would be visible only to those who were destined to be saved, it probably symbolized not the messiah but a pillar of cloud and fire (*Exodus*, 14: 20). Philo referred also to a man who would lead an army and conquer great nations, but who would not otherwise play a messianic role.

By the middle of the first century A.D., the Jews were ready to welcome almost any self-proclaimed messiah. In 46 A.D. Theudas persuaded the people to follow him to the river Jordan in the belief that its waters would divide as miraculously as the Red Sea had parted for Moses. The Romans beheaded him as a rebel. In the year 58 an Egyptian Jewish claimant to messiahship promised that the walls of Jerusalem would fall at his command, as Jericho had fallen for Joshua. He led his followers to the Mount of Olives, where they were attacked and dispersed by the troops of the Roman Governor.

For more than a century Rome's destruction had been regarded as the precursor of the messiah. In the year 63 severe earthquakes shook southern Italy and stimulated messianic expectations among both Jews and Christians. In 64, Rome was laid waste by fire; ten of the fourteen sections of the city were totally or partially de-

stroyed. Revolutionary disturbances soon followed in Palestine. During the siege of Jerusalem in 70, Menahem, son of Judas the Galilean, led an attack on the Roman garrison. He promised the Jews immediate deliverance from Roman power and other evils if they would follow him into the desert, but he was killed in battle. During that year, another self-proclaimed messiah assembled six thousand men, women, and children and awaited miraculous deliverance.

In 132, Bar Kokeba began a revolt against the Romans and, within a year, he conquered fifty fortified cities and 945 towns and villages. Commanding 200,000 men, he reigned as king for two and a half years. After capturing Jerusalem, he minted new silver coins. The old ones had displayed on one side a Roman, on the other a Jew standing by a palm tree, his hands tied behind his back, a weeping Jewess nearby; the triumphal coin issued by Bar Kokeba displayed on one side the first name "Simeon," a star, and a representation of the entrance to the Temple which the Romans had destroyed; on the reverse side were the words "Jerusalem is delivered," and a representation of citron fruit and palm tree—Ethrog and Lulob. In 135, however, after fifty-two battles, Julius Severus besieged and captured Jerusalem. In all, Bar Kokeba had sustained his rebellion for three and a half years; not since the days of Hannibal had any man defied for so long the armies of Rome. Yet Bar Kokeba, "Son of a Star," became among disappointed followers, Bar Kozba, "Son of a Lie."

Bar Kokeba had proclaimed messiahship after the death of Trajan and the ascension of Hadrian. Jerusalem was then a ruin; the Gentiles were about to take up permanent residence in the Jewish capital and place a Roman idol on the site of the Holy of Holies. The leading rabbis openly supported Bar Kokeba, to whom many miraculous feats were attributed. Though some refused to believe him the messiah, thousands of Jews placed themselves at his command. To Rabbi Akiba's assertion that Bar Kokeba was the messiah, Johanan ben Torta retorted, "Akiba, grass will be growing on your cheeks before the Son of David comes," but Johanan was among the few sceptics. Akiba declared that the pretender, who was seen riding on a lion, was the "Star out of Jacob" foretold in Balaam's prophecy (*Numbers*, 24:17). This was probably the origin of the name Bar Kokeba, "Son of a Star." Tradition says that when recruiting his army, Bar Kokeba com-

pelled each recruit to cut off a finger as evidence of loyalty. When about two hundred soldiers had been enrolled, the rabbis inquired how long he intended to maim the Jewish youth. His explanation, "I am trying to prevent the entry of traitors," was accepted. Those who refused to submit to this test had to prove that they could uproot a cedar of Lebanon while riding a horse at full speed.

Many of the qualities of the expected messiah were possessed by Bar Kokeba. He was tall and powerfully built. He slept on the bare ground and shared the coarse food of his soldiers. He fought at the most dangerous points, showed great courage, and out-maneuvered experienced Roman commanders. He hated Rome, devotedly loved his country, and was modest and receptive to advice. These qualities earned the respect and loyalty of rich and poor, learned and simple, who flocked to his banner and served him obediently. But the Jews paid heavily for Bar Kokeba's effort to launch the messianic kingdom. Half a million lost their lives and many of the survivors were sold into slavery. Some were shipped to Gaza and Egypt; and many succumbed to famine or shipwreck. A thousand Judean villages were left in ruins.

Nevertheless, messianic thought persisted among the Jews. In the latter part of the century, Simeon ben Yohai, a disciple of Akiba, declared: "When you see a Persian horse tied in the land of Israel, then look for the feet of the Messiah." The prophecy indicated that the Roman Empire would be overthrown by a powerful Eastern leader. According to the *Talmud*, the messiah would come "when we Jews will be quite helpless; when many will slander us and denounce us to the powers that be and we will be in abject poverty."

Rab, a member of the committee that assisted Judah ben Nasi in the compilation of the *Mishnah* in the third century, stated that messianic prophecy promised merely political independence to Jews, not a change in the condition of humanity. In opposition to contemporary messianic enthusiasts, Samuel the Babylonian insisted that "the messianic age differs from the present in nothing except that Israel will throw off the yoke of the nations and gain its political independence." The *Talmud* (*Sanhedrin*, 97a) threatened: "May the curse of heaven fall upon those who calculate the date of the advent of the messiah and thus create political and social unrest among the people." The curse has not prevented such calculations.

Early in the fifth century, hopes of the approach of the millennium gained ground. The expectation was supported by a prediction in the *Sibylline Oracles* that the messiah would come between 440 and 470. In 434 Dunaan proclaimed messiaship in Nigra, Arabia. During this century a Moses of Crete declared himself the messiah and was accepted by all the Jewish congregations on the island. His followers gave him their belongings, neglected their daily pursuits, and eagerly awaited the day when he would lead them through the Mediterranean to the Promised Land. One day men, women, and children followed him to the shore. He stood on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean and ordered the faithful to throw themselves into the water, assuring them that it would part before them. They obeyed; and many of them were drowned.

In 640 a Jew from the village of Pallugta on the Euphrates announced that the messiah had come. He collected a force of four hundred men—weavers, carpenters, and bleachers of linen—who burned three Christian churches and killed the superintendent of the district. Troops destroyed these Jews, slew their wives and children, and crucified their leader.

A similar messianic role was adopted by a Syrian reformer, Serene, about 720. Under the fanatical Caliph, Omar II, Eastern Jews were then suffering many hardships. Serene promised to exterminate their enemies and to restore their independence. Many accepted his gospel. Jews in Spain, smarting under the sufferings of centuries, also enlisted under his banner. But when Omar II captured Serene and delivered him to the synagogue, the Jews disclaimed him.

About twenty years later, in the town of Ispahan, Persia, Obaiah Abu Isa ben Ishak, who professed to be the forerunner of the messiah, promised to free the children of Israel. Ten thousand Jews rallied to his cause. When Mansur (754-775) came to the throne, Abu Isa fled northward with his band, allegedly to secure aid from mythical Jews who were reputed to be descendants of Moses. His forces were defeated by Mohammedans, and Abu Isa, who ventured too confidently beyond the line, was killed. But his followers expected his reappearance. Yudghan of Hamada, a disciple, then announced himself prophet and forerunner of the messiah, and many Jews acclaimed him "Shepherd." Abu Isa's influence persisted until the tenth century, but his followers did not revive the movement for liberation.

Jews regarded the success of Islam as the first indication since the fall of Rome that the messianic kingdom would be realized. They believed that Islam would relieve them of their oppression in Christian countries and in Persia. When this hope failed, they voiced the conviction that the power of the Roman Empire would be revived and that Rome would vanquish their oppressor, Islam. The Jewish apocalypse, *History of Daniel*, written probably in the first half of the ninth century, predicted the victory of a Roman ruler over Islam. Then, said the *History*, there would arise a false messiah, accompanied by Gog and Magog. Israel, meanwhile, would take refuge in the desert. The false messiah, asked to perform miracles, would fail to satisfy, for he would be unable to raise the dead. Later, Michael and Gabriel would appear to the Israelites in the desert, and although they would have power to slay the false messiah, messiah ben David would kill him with the breath of his mouth, and exterminate the hosts of Gog and Magog. Then Elias (Elijah) would come. The dead would arise, and the Israelites would be gathered together from the four quarters of the world. The ensuing period of rejoicing and domination would last thirteen hundred years and then would come the everlasting great doom.

In 892 Saadia, a Jew born in Upper Egypt, taught that the messiah would come in 964, but would not reign eternally and would not banish sin. Other nations would share the benefits of the messiah's rule to the extent that they had been amicable toward the Jews. Finally the virtuous would go to their eternal reward in heaven, and the wicked to everlasting punishment. About the middle of the tenth century, Hasdai, a Jewish statesman of the Cordova Caliphate, wrote to the Jewish community near the mouth of the Volga River to inquire whether there was a kingdom where the Jews were not subject to others. "Cast down from our former glory, and now living in exile, we are powerless to answer those who constantly say unto us: 'Every nation hath its kingdom, while you have no trace of a kingdom on earth.' " To his inquiry the king of the Khazars replied: "Our eyes are turned to God and to the wise men in Israel who preside over the academies of Jerusalem and Babylon. We are far away from Zion, but it has come to our ears that, on account of our sins, the calculations concerning the coming of the messiah have become confused, so that we know nothing."

During the first three Crusades there were at least eight Jewish messianic movements. These involved communities in Byzantium, Chazaria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Morocco, Yemen, Spain, and France. During and subsequent to the Crusades, the oppressed Jews were ridiculed for their expectation of the messiah. "Outcasts, for what are you waiting?" they were taunted by Christians, who inflicted further miseries and considered their distress certain proof of God's determination to punish the people who had rejected and crucified Jesus.

" 'Your messiah cometh slowly!' the simpletons shout to me," complained Joseph Ben Meir Ibn Mohager. "They call me the waif cast up in every corner, and the one who hopeth in vain. My oppressors nod their heads; daily they inquire of me, 'Thou, so wretched and despised, dost thou still retain hope?' And men, perceiving me, exclaim, 'Behold the crazy dreamer.' " Judah Halevi mourned:

> They say, "In vain she hopes,
> Salvation cometh not, thus long delayed."

And Isaac Seniri wrote:

> When will thy vengeance
> Light upon defiant men,
> Who day by day inquire,
> "Where is now your God?
> Can you lie down to sleep?
> Can you in peace escape
> From our poniards, from our chains?
> Begone, and call upon God!"

In 1096, in the midst of the first Crusade, a powerful messianic movement arose among the German Jews, who had long looked toward that year as the time of deliverance. Thousands set out for the Holy Land by way of the Byzantine Empire, firmly believing that behind the dark mountains in the east the Ten Tribes were eager to reunite with their distant brethren in the west. These mountains, the German Jews declared, were shining before their eyes. The French Jews dispatched a messenger to Constantinople to ascertain whether the day of freedom had indeed come. From the Byzantine Empire emanated reports that seventeen Jewish congregations, defying the dangers of the Syrian desert, were travelling to the Holy Land. A messiah appeared in France about 1087, one at Cordova in 1117, and another at Fez in 1127. The

origin of each of these can be traced to oppression of Jews as a result of the Crusades. In the *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, the "Book of the Chazars," composed in 1141, Judah Halevi, "the sweet singer of Zion," declared Christianity and Mohammedanism were the "preparation and preface to the messiah we expect, and all men will be the fruit of God's seed when they acknowledge Him, and all become one mighty tree."

Maimonides stated in 1164 that the messiah would come, but not in the near future: "I believe with a perfect faith in the coming of Messiah, and though he tarry, yet will I wait for his coming." This continued to be the creed of orthodox Jews, who believed that the messianic kingdom would give the Jewish nation political independence but would not bring dominion over heathen nations or give merely material prosperity and sensuous pleasures. It would be an era of general prosperity and peace in which the Jews, freed of care and anxiety, could devote themselves to the study of the Torah and the acquisition of universal wisdom. They would then teach mankind the knowledge of God, and all men might share the eternal bliss of this new world. In the twelfth Principle of Faith, Maimonides said that no date might be fixed for the messiah's appearance, neither from the Scriptures should one deduce the time of his coming. Nevertheless, the *Sohar*, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and containing older traditions, fixed the exact year of the messiah's advent: In the seventieth year of the sixth millennium a king-messiah would be revealed in the province of Galilee. The event would be accompanied by certain portents: the rainbow, a sign that the world will not again be destroyed by a flood, would again shine with brilliant hues; a star would rise in the East and swallow seven stars in the North; a fixed star would appear in the middle of the firmament to be visible for seventy days; seventy rays would scintillate from it and seventy stars surround it; the city of Rome would fall and a great king would appear and conquer the world. Finally, the nations would make war against Israel, but the Chosen People would be delivered from them.

About 1160, in Azerbaijan, the messiah David Alroy summoned the brethren to his banner, and enthusiasm spread to Bagdad and from there to the east and the west. Many contributed all their possessions to the cause. Eventually the synagogue excommunicated the messiah and he was killed by his father-in-law, the

Sultan's executioner. His followers, however, confidently expected his return in the flesh.

Early in his career, Alroy had addressed a letter to the Jews of Asia, announcing messiahship. He bade them meet him in his home city, Amadia, with swords and other weapons concealed under their robes. He planned to capture the castle of the city, and then proceed to Palestine and take Jerusalem. Many men and women went to Amadia. Soon, however, a letter from the Sultan requested Alroy to appear before the throne. When he complied, the Sultan asked, "Are you the messiah of the Jews?" "I am," was the reply. "Do you believe that your God wants you to take Jerusalem from us, and to lead your people there?" "I do." "Cast him into prison while my counselors decide what to do with him," ordered the Sultan. It is said that while the Sultan was deliberating with his advisers, Alroy mysteriously freed himself, appeared before his judges, and shouted, "I do not fear you or your ministers." He then became invisible and vanished from the castle. The next day he reappeared in Amadia, having covered a distance equal to a ten-day journey. Meanwhile, two men arrived in Bagdad with letters addressed to the Jews. The messengers stated that these letters were written by David Alroy and announced the exact time when all Jews were to fly to Jerusalem. Many people gave the two men money, jewelry, and other valuables, for they did not wish to carry these things when they flew through the sky. At the appointed hour of night, hundreds of Bagdad Jews, clad in green robes, went to the roofs of their houses. While uneventful hours passed, men, women, and children became anxious for the arrival of the moment when they would fly. When morning dawned, the people were still on the roofs. The messengers to whom they had entrusted their money and valuables had disappeared. That year was afterwards referred to by Bagdad Jews as "the year of flying."

In 1172, while the Mohammedans were making ardent efforts to convert the Jews, a self-proclaimed forerunner of the messiah declared in Yemen, Arabia, that current misfortunes betokened the eve of the messianic kingdom. The Jews were told to be prepared for messiah's advent and to divide their property among the poor. This enthusiast, "to whom many clung as drowning men to a straw," threatened to bring dire misfortunes upon the Yemenite Jews.

A disposition to counter calamity with faith characterized these

centuries during which the Jews suffered, directly or indirectly, from the Crusades. The Jew who had seen his wife and children butchered by Crusaders, or had been persecuted by the Christian Church, found in fanciful worlds relief from the horrors of his actual life.

When Nachmanides (1194-1270), in the presence of King James I of Aragon, the court officials, and high Church dignitaries, engaged in a four-day public debate on the truth of Christianity, he declared that the Jews did not regard advent of the messiah as an end in itself, but rather that they desired the restoration of Palestine and resumption of Temple worship as a means of spreading holiness. His co-religionists, he argued, might prefer to live under the King of Aragon rather than under the messiah. To keep the commands of their religion while they lived in exile under a Christian monarch and suffered humiliation was more meritorious than to remain faithful in prosperity and freedom in Palestine under a Jewish king. Nachmanides insisted that the messiah would introduce a reign of universal peace and justice. Jesus had not fulfilled these expectations; since his advent the world had been filled with violence and injustice. Christians, charged Nachmanides, were the most warlike of peoples. To the King he said: "It behooves thee, and thy knights, O King, to put an end to all thy war-making, as it [the end of war] is necessary for the beginning of the messianic era." The debate had been instigated by Pablo, a Jew converted to Christianity, who had assured King James that the *Talmud* and other rabbinic writings pointed to Jesus as the messiah. Pablo had said that if Nachmanides should be converted to this view, the Jews would follow his example. In later writings Nachmanides declared that the six days of creation were prophecies of events during the next six thousand years (after creation); the seventh day was the messianic era or the seventh millennium.

The *Book of the Bee*, composed in the thirteenth century by the Christian Bishop Shelemon (or Solomon) of Al-Basra, enumerated the messianic generations and described the importance attributed to them by Jews and Christians. So frequent and turbulent were messianic disturbances during the Middle Ages that Jewish congregations were ordered to place before the Nagid of Egypt all questions bearing upon messianic topics or movements.

In 1279 or 1280 Abraham Abulafia, known as Abraham of Granada, published in Sicily a book predicting that the messianic

era would begin in 1290. To escape persecution, Abulafia left Sicily about 1288 and went to the island of Comino, near Malta. Among his followers were two prophets and miracle-workers, to one of whom Abulafia foretold in mystic language the advent of the messiah. At the age of twenty, Abulafia had gone in search of the lost Ten Tribes on the banks of the mythic river Sambatyon; he traveled as far as Acre, returned to Spain, and for a while lived as a hermit. Studying under a leading Jewish mystic in Worms, he became convinced that he was the messiah sent by God, and was the Son of God. He tried to convert the educated, the masses, and even Christians. In 1290 an inner voice induced him to go to Rome, where he hoped to convert, on the day before the Jewish New Year of 5041, Pope Nicholas II. The Pope refused to give Abulafia an audience and ordered that on his arrival he was to be burned at the stake. But the night before Abulafia's arrival, the Pope died of an apoplectic stroke. After four weeks of imprisonment, Abulafia was released as a result of the intervention of the Franciscan Minorites.

When Charles VIII invaded Italy, the Jews rejoiced. The invasion brought hard times for them in Spain and Portugal, but they felt that the French conquest marked the end of the Papacy and that 1490 would be the year of deliverance. Evil times for oppressors meant salvation for the oppressed. It was not until 1502 or 1503, however, that a messiah appeared. Early in the sixteenth century Isaac Abarbanal announced that the messiah would soon come. There arose in Istria, near Venice, a German Jew, named Ascher Lembein, "a foolish and mad prophet." Preaching repentance, Lembein foretold that the messiah would come within six months. "And some of the men were inclined to him and girded themselves with sackcloth; and every man turned from his evil ways in those days; for they said, 'Our salvation draweth nigh; but the Lord, in his own time, will make haste.' "

In the first half of the sixteenth century Luis Dias, a converted Jew in Setubal, a seaport south of Lisbon, caused considerable stir in that part of Portugal. He declared himself the promised messia sent to deliver his people. In Setubal and Lisbon many converted Jews accepted his claims and many Christians, representing every rank, were also persuaded. He traveled widely through Portugal, everywhere greeted with respect. Followers who met him on the street devoutly kissed his hand. There were reports

that he performed miracles, and that he circumcised the children of adherents. He was arrested and the Inquisition, then established in Portugal, sentenced him and eighty-three associates to be burned at Lisbon in 1532 "to the glory of the True Messiah, the lowly Nazarene, whose humble followers zealously supported the Christian cause to their eternal glory and the strengthening of the Church."

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Jews prompted by messianic expectations and aided by Joseph Nazi, a favorite of the Sultan, settled in Jerusalem and later at Safed, in Galilee. The impetus which Lembein had given the messianic hope called forth several messiahs, some of whom appeared in the Safed community. Isaiac Luria (1534-1572) proclaimed at Safed that he was the embodiment of the soul of the messiah and announced that the messianic age would begin in 1568. He was ascetic, withdrew from human associations, visited his home only on the Sabbath, and experienced ecstatic visions. At first he believed himself to be the prophet Elijah, forerunner of the messiah, but he found little favor in Egypt, where he first announced his mission. In 1569 he joined the community in Safed, where messianism was well entrenched. Two groups of disciples, novices and initiates, gathered about him. Their dwellings faced a common court, and their families constituted a community. Occasionally Luria led his followers to Meron. There, by the grave of Simon, son of Johai, reputed author of the *Sohar*, he reenacted the imagined sessions of those far-off days of the second century A.D., when Simon's influence dominated Syria and Palestine. Finally Luria became convinced that he was the messiah of the tribe of Joseph and would usher in the reign of the messiah of the line of David. After Luria's death Hayim Vital Calabres claimed to be the messiah and announced the speedy advent of the messianic era. Vital had imbibed Luria's teaching through intimate association with his master and he maintained that Jewish souls must be purified before they could ascend to the original world which had been sundered from God, the perfect world of the messianic era. In 1574 Abraham Shalom, who also claimed to be messiah, advised Vital to live in Jerusalem for two years so that the holy spirit might descend upon him.

During the reign of Charles V. of Spain, David Reuben, or Reubeni, announced in the Portuguese court that he had come from

his brother, the King of the Jews, and had journeyed from India to propose an alliance to recover the country of the Jews from the Turks. As he traveled through Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy, he secured many adherents and even won the ear of the Pope. Finally the imposture was discovered. "And he invented a writing of his own heart saying, 'My brother, the king, hath sent unto me a message written and sealed with the king's ring;' and it came to pass, one day, that his secret was discovered, and they believed him no more; for he decreed decrees of nothingness." Solomon Molcho announced himself the successor to David Reuben. He was an ignorant man, but—according to tradition—at his circumcision God revealed to him hidden springs of knowledge which enabled him to master the *Cabala* and to speak inspired words. Before potentates and kings, he preached the Jewish faith, and had an audience with the Pope, Clement VII, from whom he obtained permission to dwell wherever he wished. The *Chronicles of the Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir* gives a detailed account of Molcho and his career:

> And there came forth a rod from Portugal, whose name was Solomon Molcho, of a stem of Israel, which had been scattered there since the days of destruction; and he was a lad with the scribes of the king at that time. . . . And after I was healed, I went to Rome, to observe the stars and their appearance; and before they came, I told it all unto the pope, and to some of the cardinals belonging to the great of the court, written in a letter. And I also wrote unto the king of Portugal by the hand of his ambassador, for I spake to him in his chamber. And when the earthquake came, they marvelled much. And the ambassadors said unto me, "If the king had known before thou removest from Portugal, that thou art so very wise, he had given thee permission to act by every law thou wouldst." And daily he and his servants honored me much at his house before the pope.

The prophetic vision of Molcho was in the main fulfilled. In October, 1530, Rome and Flanders were inundated and a brilliant comet appeared. On January 6, 1531, heavy earthquakes shook Lisbon. After the fulfillment of these prophecies Molcho again appeared in Rome and was greeted reverently as a messenger from God. But in spite of these fulfillments and the Pope's favor, Molcho was surrounded by enemies, both Jewish and Christian. He obtained permission to leave Rome, joined Reuben in north Italy, and went with him to Ratisbon. With a flying banner on which were initialed the words "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Mighty?" they appeared before Charles V to persuade him to call

upon the Jews to take up arms against the Turks. But the Emperor put them in chains and in 1532 took them to Spain. There Molcho was condemned by the Inquisition and was burned at the stake. To the end, he steadfastly professed belief in his mission. A similar fate befell Reuben. The flames consumed Molcho, but the Inquisition could not destroy the faith which he had implanted; his followers regarded him as a burnt offering to the Lord. Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir wrote shortly after the event:

> And the Lord smelled the sweet savour, and took to him his spotless soul, and she is with him as one brought up with him, rejoicing always before him. . . . And many in Italy believed, at that time, that Rabbi Solomon Molcho had been delivered by his wisdom from the hand of those who sought after his soul to destroy it, and that the fire had no power over him. And there were some witnessed, and swear before the assembly and congregation, that he stood in his house eight days after the burning, and that he went his way thence and they saw him no more; the Almighty God alone knoweth. And would to God I could write in a book with certainty and sincerity whether his words were true or not.

Joseph Caro, or Karo (1488-1575), was greatly influenced by Molcho and he shared similar beliefs. Rabbi Jacob Berab had ascertained by Cabalistic calculations that the messiah would not come until all Jews accepted one form of ritual and all rabbis were in complete accord in their teachings. Caro attempted to establish this unanimity of rabbinic doctrine by preparing a book which would be accepted as authoritative. If all should perform the same rites, "God would be compelled to dismiss the messiah and to send him to the earth, and the arrival of this divine messenger would at once change their misery into gladness, their weeping into dancing." Joseph de la Reina, of Safed, Upper Galilee, declared that destruction of the Evil One would herald the advent of messiah; a similar doctrine was held by Jewish contemporaries in Europe; and in 1615 a messiah proclaimed himself in Coromandel.

Early in the seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries in China visited the Jewish community at Kaefung-Foo, capital of the province of Ho-nan. A Catholic Father, Ricci, upon learning that the community had Hebrew copies of the five books of Moses, sent word by messenger that he had the remaining books of the Old Testament and also those comprising the New Testament, in which the acts of a messiah who had already come were described. The rabbi of Kaefung-Foo replied that the messiah would not appear for ten thousand years. Visitors to the colony in the early eight-

eenth century found that its inhabitants had never heard of Jesus Christ; the only Jesus known to them was a son of Sirach. They did, however, expect a messiah. Frequently they repeated the words of the dying Jacob, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord."

In the first half of the seventeenth century a Scandinavian, Oliger Pauli, announced that God had commanded him in a vision to proclaim himself King of the Jews. In France, during Richelieu's regime, there were declarations of the near advent of a Jewish messiah. A letter written at Augsburg on September 24, 1642, stated:

> The ambassador resident in Constantinople reports that a Jewess has given birth to a new Messiah at Ossa, in Turkey. He has won over numerous towns and castles as well as the whole of the land of Egypt, and the province of Lower Syria. He has sent a sword to Don Sebe, King of Persia, hinting that he should abdicate and gracefully hand over his kingdom. He has acted in the same way towards the Sultan and has summoned him to relinquish Jerusalem and Damascus. The Sultan has taken fright and has moved from Constantinople to Mecca. He calls himself Jesus Eli Messiah, and Almighty God of Heaven and Earth. He was born on September 24, 1641, in the village of Ossa near Bassiliske, of a Jewess named Gamaritta, who is said to be beautiful but quite common. When eight days later he was circumcised, he straightway began to speak and performed miracles and proclaimed himself the Messiah.

In the seventeenth century, Hebrew was studied by many Christian scholars—especially by Puritan ministers interested in messianic hopes and the promises recorded in the Scriptures and rabbinic books. In 1644 much excitement was aroused by the report that the Lost Ten Tribes had been found in America. Many Jews, including learned rabbis, believed the time of the return to the Promised Land was near. In the *New Atlantis*, written about 1619, Francis Bacon referred to a Jewish belief "that when the Messiah should come, and sit on his throne at Hierusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at His feet, whereas other kings should keep a great distance." Bacon's contemporary, Tommaso Campanella, predicted that social and political changes would culminate in the reign of a messiah. The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of many messianic dreams. Throughout Europe, Jews expected deliverance. John Sadler, the town clerk of London, referred to the prediction in the *Sohar* that the messiah would come in the year 1648. The Puritans were much

interested in the Jewish messianic hopes, for they were intent upon a new communion of saints, a Macarian republic; and they found scriptural confirmation for associating their new kingdom with the restoration of Israel. Milton believed that the Twelve Tribes would return to Zion. Samuel Hartlib wrote *Macaria: The Prosperous Kingdom;* John Sadler wrote *Olbia: The Happy Kingdom;* John Durie (or Dury) wrote *Israel's Call to March to Jerusalem* (1646) and *The Commonwealth of Israel* (1650); and Samuel Gott, a Jew, wrote *Nova Solyma: The New and Happy Commonwealth* (1648). In 1649-1650 Moses Wall, a learned man and an ardent republican, translated and edited Manasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel.* In 1640 the belief that all dead Jews would rise from the grave and follow the messiah to Jerusalem was widespread. Upon his arrival, "all the ships, barkes, and vessels of Holland should by the powers of certain strange whirlwinds be loosed from their ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolate ports and havens throughout the world wherever the dispersion was, to convey their brethren and tribes to the Holy City." By the middle of the century many Chrlistians and Mohammedans shared the Jewish belief that the messiah would soon appear and that Jewish national sovereignty would be restored. In 1655 Samuel Brett published *A Narrative of a Great Meeting of Jewish Rabbis.* The book described an alleged meeting on the plain of Ageda, about thirty miles from Buda, Hungary. The rabbis attending this meeting, according to Brett, discussed the hopes for a messiah and pondered the prophecies which Christian writers believed referred to their Redeemer. Although the book was perhaps fraudulent, it was evidence of the interest in messianism among Jews and Christians.

There were various attempts to show that Oliver Cromwell was the messiah. In 1290, during the reign of Edward I, fifteen thousand Jews, supposedly all the Jews in England, had been banished from the realm, and since that time they could not legally enter the country. Actually, however, not all the Jews were banished, and some subsequently re-entered as "Spaniards" or "Portuguese." Cromwell was the first to admit them as Jews. He was persuaded to do so by Manasseh ben Israel, who was born in Lisbon in 1604, believed firmly in the near advent of the messiah, and was convinced that the New World natives were the Lost Tribes. (This belief was long prevalent in Spanish theology, and survived among

Christian writers until the end of the nineteenth century.) In 1649-1650 Manasseh wrote a messianic treatise, *The Hope of Israel,* published in Spanish and in Latin, and almost immediately translated into English. Throughout Europe the work aroused considerable interest. The name for England, the only land according to Manasseh in which Jews were not resident, was, in the medieval Jewish literature, "the end of the earth," an over-literal translation of the French name, *Angleterre.* Thus, argued Manasseh, inasmuch as the natives of the New World were Jews, only the presence of Jews in the British Isles was necessary to fulfill the prophecy of a complete dispersion. Accordingly, Manasseh sent Cromwell a Latin petition to be presented to Parliament, asking that the Jews be admitted into Britain. With their admission to England, the messiah would appear and summon his followers to the Holy Land. On these grounds, Manasseh pleaded for repeal of the law denying Jews the right to live in England. He later went to London and presented his case to Cromwell in person. The Protector was willing but Parliament opposed the plan. There were rumors that the Jews would buy St. Paul's Cathedral and convert it into a synagogue, that they were negotiating for the purchase of Oxford University, and that a committee had arrived to ascertain whether Cromwell was the messiah.

Although Jews were not admitted to England by act of Parliament, Cromwell permitted many Spanish Jews to settle in London and he granted them a burial-ground within the city. A deputation of Dutch and Asiatic Jews had several private audiences with him. At one audience, a member of the delegation from Holland proposed to buy all Hebrew books and manuscripts in Cambridge University. The proposal was rejected, but members of the delegation were allowed to examine all books and manuscripts in the Cambridge University library. They next inquired among Cromwell's relatives in Huntingshire, his birthplace, whether any of his ancestors in the male line were Jews. They found no trace of such ancestry, but "their inquiries into Oliver's pedigree not being carried on with all the secrecy such a scheme required, the true purpose of their errand into England became quickly known at London, and was very much talked of; which causing much scandal among the Saints, they were suddenly packed out of the kingdom, without obtaining any of their requests, to the great joy of the Country, as well as the University of Cambridge, which being

at that time under a cloud, on account of their former loyalty to the King, had everything to fear from such visitors."

When Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, were predicting the end of the world and the advent of Christ, the Jews recalled the *Sohar*. This twelfth- or thirteenth-century work prophesied that the messiah would come in the fourteenth century. The date was now declared a mistake. It was stated that he would come about 1648, the time of the millennium predicted by the Christians. He would be mounted on a lion, would miraculously conquer Palestine without the use of weapons, and would establish on earth the Kingdom of Heaven. By that time, said the Cabalists, the last allotment of souls would have arrived on the sublunary world to which Jewish souls go. With them would be the soul of the messiah. Then all would be made ready for absorption of the Spirit of the Lord, the *En Sof*.

The year 1648 had been regarded in Christian and Cabalist circles as the year of the messiah's advent. In 1650 George Foster published, presumably in London, *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet: Severall Visions, declaring the Universall overturning and rooting up of all Earthly Powers in England. With many other things foretold, which shall come to passe in this Year, 1650.* Christians in England decided upon 1666 as the year of the millennium. Jews were aware of the approximation in dates; when events demonstrated that they had been mistaken in regarding 1648 as the year of redemption, they suspected that the revised date of the Christians was the correct one. Amid the turbulent times of 1666, a messianic movement arose which affected practically all Judaism and profoundly influenced many Jewish communities. The messiah appeared at Smyrna in the person of Sabbathai Zvi (1626-1676), son of a poulterer who plied his trade in that Mediterranean port. Mordecai, Sabbathai's father, was a Spanish Jew who had formerly lived in the Morea, where he had been a broker for an English mercantile firm. Messianic expectations were then prevalent in England and, probably, both father and son had heard from English merchants that in Christian countries the year 1666 was anticipated as the year when Jews would be restored to the Holy Land.

Sabbathai had made rapid progress in his study of the *Cabala* and at the age of eighteen was a rabbi. He fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath and bathed so persistently that his health was imper-

illed. Daily his virtue grew and his fame spread. His beauty likewise increased daily. From his body came a pleasant perfume which physicians pronounced a natural exhalation. He preached, called himself Son of David, and uttered the ineffable name, *Jahweh.* Offended rabbis considered him deserving of death. They denounced him to Turkish authorities, and sought his punishment for the two-fold sacrilege. The opposition became violent and Sabbathai made a pilgrimage to Salonika. There he met with similar opposition from the rabbis. While he was passing through Gaza, on the way to Jerusalem, Nathan Benjamin came before him, trembling, and declared by the "Almighty and Dreadful God" that, like Ezekiel of old, he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, the ten Sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea. From the chariot, Nathan claimed, came a voice, announcing, "Your Redeemer is come; his name is Sabbathai Zvi; 'he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar; he shall prevail against his enemies' " (*Isaiah* 43: 13). Sabbathai preached in Jerusalem and proclaimed himself the messiah. Listening rabbis trembled, not with rage, as had the rabbis in Saloniki and Smyrna, but with fear and awe. Sabbathai lived in Jerusalem for thirteen years, then went to Egypt. After three years, he returned to Jerusalem. There, in the synagogue, he again proclaimed himself the messiah. This time, however, the rabbis were not convinced and they launched an interdict against him.

Nathan declared himself the prophet Elijah come down to earth to make ready the way for the messiah. He had received a message, he said (probably in 1665), to the effect that within a year and a few months the messiah would come in glory and establish his kingdom by a peaceful conquest of Turkey. News of this revelation spread. Sabbathai left Jerusalem for Gaza. Advance prophets heralded his coming, and he was acclaimed in Aleppo. An even greater ovation was accorded him in the autumn of 1665 when he returned to Smyrna, his native city. In the synagogue there he announced himself the expected messiah. Worshippers shouted exultantly, "Long live our King, our Anointed One!" Women, young girls, and children fell into trances and, in the language of the *Sohar,* declared Sabbathai the true savior. Men made ready for an exodus to the Holy Land, and business was almost completely neglected. In order to prepare themselves for the day

of redemption some practiced rigid asceticism; others held feast and festival in honor of the messiah. When Sabbathai appeared upon the streets a procession accompanied him; his followers thrilled with joy when the voice of the heaven-sent deliverer rang out: "The right hand of the Lord is exalted; the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly." Here and in other communities, especially in Saloniki, children as young as ten or twelve years of age were united in wedlock, that all unborn souls might come into the world. Their arrival, it was said, would remove the last hindrance to the realization of the redemption. In Samaria, Adrianople, Saloniki, Constantinople, and other places, men, women, and children fell to the ground in raptures. Some exclaimed in Hebrew, even those, according to legend, who did not know a word of that language: "Sabbathai Zvi is the true messiah of the house of David; to him the crown and the kingdom of heaven are given."

Opposition was broken down, sometimes by force. Sabbathai's lieutenants, Samuel Primo of Smyrna and Nathan of Gaza, flooded Jewish communities near and distant with messages describing the remarkable appearance of the messiah, and his wonderful deeds. Through Christian agents of Dutch and English firms, the news reached European capitals. Everywhere Jews received the tidings with joy, and many Christians accepted Sabbathai's claims. Prayer-books were published in Hebrew and Spanish, containing directions for penitential devotions by which one might become worthy of the approaching messianic bliss. Amsterdam Jews sent the messiah an address of homage. The first to sign was Benjamin Mussafia, physician to King Christian IV of Denmark. Even the dispassionate philosopher Benedict Spinoza was not entirely sceptical about the possibility of the restoration of Jewish power.

Moses Zacuto, a fellow-student of Spinoza, roused the Venetian Jews with the messianic message and an early adherent of Sabbathai displayed equal zeal in Leghorn. In the Iberian peninsula interest in Sabbathai was intense, and adherence to his cause so considerable that a special watch was set at all seaports to detain those who might endeavor to go to Smyrna to join him. A Marrano physician who escaped to the Levant and was among the first to swear allegiance to Sabbathai was rewarded by the messiah with the throne of Portugal. In London, recent arrivals from Spain and Portugal waited upon leaders of the Jewish community and gravely informed them that the time had come to announce alle-

giance to Judaism. In Hamburg, Jewish youths, wearing green sashes, livery of the Sabbathaians, danced madly in the synagogue, led by Benito de Castro, physician to the Queen of Sweden, Manoel Texeira, the great capitalist, and other distinguished men. On the bourses large sums were wagered that soon the hero's claims would be officially recognized in European countries.

Sabbathai's claims to messiahship were strengthened when he married a woman who had long declared she would be wife of the messiah. She was the sole survivor of a Jewish colony in Poland butchered by Cossacks. A sympathetic Christian took the half-starved and almost frozen girl to a nearby nunnery; there she developed into a young woman of rare beauty. She was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, but, as she later declared, remained at heart a Jewess. One night some Jews found her, almost naked, in their cemetery. The spirit of her father, she explained, had brought her to the cloistered quiet of the cemetery and had informed her that she would be the bride of the messiah. To the astonished Jewish women she showed the fingermarks which her father's spirit had left on her body. The Jews thought an investigation would bring trouble upon them, and they sent the girl to Amsterdam where, she said, a brother was living. After a few years in Amsterdam, she went to Frankfort-on-the-Main and later to Liverne. In each place she acquired a reputation for lewdness, even while she continued to assert that she would be the messiah's bride. When confronted with charges about this inconsistency, she replied that divine revelation permitted such irregularities. In Cairo Sabbathai heard of her and her adventures. Stating that he had been waiting for her to appear, he sent for her. Their nuptials were celebrated in gorgeous style in the house of the generous Raphael. To justify this messianic action Sabbathai reminded his followers that the prophet Hosea, like himself, had been ordered by God to marry a lewd woman.

A wealthy and cautious co-religionist of Constantinople, who feared that the Jews' acclamation of Sabbathai as the messiah would bring persecution to his followers, requested of the Grand Vizier certification that he, the applicant, had never been a believer in Sabbathai's messiahship. The messiah's followers countered by accusing the sceptic of treasonable designs against the Turks. They produced false witnesses and he was sent to the galleys. The fame of the self-proclaimed deliverer of Israel con-

tinued to spread and from many parts of Europe Jews came to pay him homage.

During the eventful year 1666, in which the Jewish world proclaimed the advent of the messiah and deputations from every Jewish community were visiting the "Castle of Splendor," Sabbathai's residence in Abydos, Polish Jews sent a delegation, which included Isaiah, son of David Halevi, a famous rabbi of Lemberg and author of the *Tiz*. When the Polish delegates were presented to Sabbathai, they were impressed by the thousands of enthusiastic admirers from many countries. The messiah gave the delegation an enigmatic letter addressed to the rabbi of Lemberg, which contained the following:

> On the sixth day after the resuscitation of my spirit and light, on the twenty-second of Tammuz, I herewith send a gift to the man of Faith, the venerable old man, Rabbi David of the house of Levi, the author of the *Ture Zahab*—may be flourish in his old age in strength and freshness! Soon I will avenge you and comfort you, even as a mother comforteth her son, and recompense you a hundred fold [for the suffering endured by you]. The day of revenge is in my heart, and the year of redemption hath arrived. Thus speaketh David, the son of Jesse, the head of all the kings of the earth, the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the Lion of the mountain recesses, Sabbathai Zvi.

The gift referred to in the letter was a shirt which Sabbathai presented to Rabbi David's son with instructions to put it on his aged and feeble father, at the same time intoning, "May thy youth be renewed like that of the eagle." Having learned from the delegates that a Cabalist propagandist, Nehemiah Cohen, who predicted the near advent of the messiah, had appeared in Poland, Sabbathai added a postscript in which he requested that this "prophet," forerunner of the messiah, be sent to him forthwith. The ensuing interview with Nehemiah, the Cabalist fanatic, hastened Sabbathai's downfall. Nehemiah, after three days' argument with Sabbathai, refused to acknowledge him as the expected messiah. Instead he revealed Sabbathai's plans to the Turkish authorities in Adrianople, and the messiah was imprisoned. Sabbathai adopted Mohammedanism, and promised to advocate the abolition of Juadism and extol the faith of Islam. Meanwhile the conviction that he was the messiah spread beyond the bounds of Turkey. Enthusiastic Jewish husbandmen in Persia believed the Deliverer had come, and refused to work in the fields. They refused to pay tribute to the Governor, but agreed to pay two hundred *tomans* if the mes-

siah did not appear within three months. Among Polish Jews, who recently had suffered terrible persecutions from Cossack invaders, the Sabbathaian fervor assumed alarming proportions, and long survived the leader's defection. English Jews believed that Sabbathai would reinstate the Jewish nation in Palestine. Samuel Pepys wrote in his diary on January 19, 1666:

> I am told for certain what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest do offer to give any man ten pounds sterling to be paid one hundred pounds, if a certain person now at Smyrna be not within two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the Grand Segnor, as the King of the world, in the same manner we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true messiah.

From Paris, in May 1670, Father Simon wrote:

> Since this pretended Messiah has become a Mahometan, the Turks go from all parts of Adrianople to see him. M. Hardi has given me a little book of prayers to be said by the Jews who go to Adrianople to see their Messiah. This book has been printed by the Jews of the Portuguese Synagogue at Amsterdam; if you wish to make a pilgrimage I will make you a present of it. However, this new Messiah cannot be any obstacle to your views, as among your good friends, the Jews, one Messiah need not stand in the way of another. I am convinced that Sabbathai Sevi has no footing but the understanding carried on between him and some Turkish officers, who are happy in this opportunity of drawing money from the overcredulous Jews. Those who came to pay their respects to the new Messiah are fleeced pretty smartly.

Sabbathai's followers explained his conversion to Islam by saying that it was not he who had gone over to the Turks but a phantom which had assumed his likeness; and that Sabbathai himself had ascended to heaven, or had gone to the habitat of the Ten Tribes, and would return in glory to complete the work of redemption. Nathan of Gaza, who declared the whole matter a mystery, traveled through Asia Minor, European Turkey, the Greek islands, Italy, and elsewhere, to hearten believers. Nathan was excommunicated and expelled from many of the cities which he visited. Finally, disheartened but persistent, he returned to Turkey. Sabbathai Raphael, another prophet who sponsored the cause of Sabbathai, had better fortune and was welcomed in many cities of Germany, Holland, and Poland. Meanwhile Sabbathai endeavored to gather Jewish followers by chanting psalms and expounding the *Sohar*. The Turkish authorities allowed him to meet former followers because, he said, he would bring these Jews within the Moslem fold. To quote a seventeenth century contemporary:

Howsoever in January 1672 appeared another bold Impostor amongst the Jews in Smyrna from Morea, as it was said, or not known from whence, who in despight of Sabatai, and his own Governors, pretended to be the Messiah; but with so petty and inconsiderable a Deluder as this, the Jews thought to make quick work; but being ashamed at first to bring another *Messiah* on the stage, by help of money they accused him of Adultery, and procured a sentence from the Kadi, condemning him to the Gallies; in order unto which, and in proof of his good behavior, he remained some time in Prison, in which interim he found means to clear himself of that crime by open evidence to the contrary and had for the present escaped out of the power of the Synagogue had not their Authority and money prevailed more than the friends and Disciple of this Imposter, so that he was still detained in Prison, and Sabatai Sevi continued in the house of Pharaoh or the Grand Seignior, where he remained till the year 1676, and then died.

After the death of Sabbathai Zvi many Jews regarded Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677) as the messiah; but that philosopher did not encourage the view. In Smyrna, an unschooled preceptor, Daniel Israel Bonafoux, declared that Sabbathai was not dead but had been spirited away; within forty-five years he would return to accomplish the redemption. The leaders of the Jewish community denounced Bonafoux to the local Kadi and he was expelled from the city. He gathered his followers about him in a nearby town. Later, to escape death at the hands of the Turks, he adopted Mohammedanism.

Sabbathai's last wife, whom he married after his enforced conversion to Mohammedanism, declared that her brother, Jacob Querido, then a lad of fifteen, was the son of Sabbathai, born of a posthumous union. Devotees in Saloniki rallied about Querido as the reincarnated messiah, but the rabbis informed the Turkish authorities of the movement, and, to save themselves, about four hundred of the Queridians, including the leader and his father, accepted Islam. After Querido's death, his followers acclaimed his son, Berechiah (Berokia), as a reincarnation of both Sabbathai and Jacob. This sect practiced the Sabbathaian cult in secret. Publicly they were Mohammedans and, occasionally, to forestall suspicion of their real convictions, they visited the mosque. They married only among themselves and celebrated certain Jewish rites.

Miguel Cardoso (1630-1706), another claimant to the mantle of Sabbathai, also accepted Mohammedanism. He achieved his greatest success in North Africa. Driven from Tripoli, he joined the Sabbathaian community in a small town near Smyrna and declared himself the successor of the dead Sabbathai. The true God

of Israel, he said, was not the First Cause, a Being devoid of will and unable to exert influence upon the world; rather he was the Holy Father, a Second Person, Creator and Giver of the Law. Him only should they worship. The Jews had swerved from this truth; they must immerse themselves in idolatry and should destroy the false belief from within. Sabbathai, he said, had adopted Mohammedanism in order to undermine it. Cardoso, condemend by the rabbis as a heretic, wandered from one country to another. He served as an attendant of the Pasha of Egypt. In Cairo, in 1706, his career ended when he fell a victim to his nephew's greed.

For about five years, 1678-1683, Mordecai Mokiah, "the Rebuker," claimed to be the messiah. At first he taught that Sabbathai was the true messiah, his conversion to Mohammedanism made necessary by mystic reasons. Sabbathai had not died but would reveal himself within three years after his supposed death. Mordecai pointed to persecutions suffered by Jews in Spain, Austria, and France, and to the pestilence then raging in Germany, as indications that the messianic age was at hand. He began to teach in Germany in 1682 and obtained a considerable following. In Moravia, Hungary, and Poland, he proclaimed that Sabbathai's conversion to Mohammedanism removed the taint from Ishmael's birth, by which Abraham's seed was corrupted. He had a commanding presence and was an eloquent speaker. In Modena and Reggio he was at first received enthusiastically, but upon closer acquaintance the ardor of the admirers cooled. Finally he became convinced that he must deal with Rome as Sabbathai had dealt with Mohammedanism. He proposed to accept Christianity and thus atone for the sins of his people and facilitate the arrival of the Perfect Order. When his opponents learned of this intention they prepared to deliver him to the Inquisition. He heard of their plans and fled the country.

When Sabbathai died, Polish Jews, like those of Western Europe, were abandoning political messianism for a more mystic messianism. Influences from Turkey and Saloniki, strongholds of Sabbathaianism, intensified the Polish Sabbathaian movement, which lasted from the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century. It was strongest in the Podolia district, part of which had been annexed by Turkey after the Polish-Turkish war of 1672 and returned to Poland in 1699 by the treaty of Carlowitz. The founders of the various Sabbathaian sects were recruited from

the masses or from fanatical Cabalists. At the end of the seventeenth century, Zadok, a Lithuanian Jew, a plain and illiterate man who had been an inn-keeper, prophesied that the messiah would appear in 1695. About the same time a more serious propagandist of messianism appeared in the person of the Cabalist Hayyim Malakh. Malakh had known Sabbathaians in Saloniki. He returned to Poland and secretly preached that Sabbathai was the messiah and that, like Moses, he would keep the Israelites in the desert for forty years before bringing them to the borders of the Promised Land. He would rise from the dead, declared Malakh, and would redeem the Jewish people in 1706, forty years after his manifestation.

Malakh's propaganda was successful, particularly among unlettered Jews in Podolia and Galicia. Soon he was joined by Judah Hasid, from Shidlovitz (Shedletz), who after studying *Practical Cabala* in Italy had returned to his native land and initiated studious Polish youths into the hidden wisdom. The circle of pupils and adherents steadily widened and became the sect of the "Pious," or Hasidim. Its members adopted ascetic practices and, in anticipation of the Messiah, made public confession of sins and introduced mystic prayers into their liturgy. The numbers of the Pious increased until alarmed orthodox rabbis began to persecute them. Stimulated by persecution, leaders of the sect launched propaganda for mass emigration to Palestine for the approaching triumph of the messiah. Early in 1700 a party started for Palestine, led by Hasid and Malakh. They traveled in groups through Germany, Austria, and Italy and stopped in various cities. Dressed as penitent sinners in white shrouds, their leaders delivered fiery exhortations announcing the near advent of the messiah. The poorer classes, particularly the women, were impressed by the speeches of the rigorously ascetic Hasid. As these Polish devotees traveled toward Palestine, they were joined by other groups of Jews desirous of visiting the Holy Land, until finally they numbered thirteen hundred. A group led by Malakh was dispatched with the help of charitable Jews of Vienna from that city to Constantinople. Another, led by Hasid, traveled to Palestine by way of Venice. After much suffering on the journey, during which several hundred died or fell by the wayside, about a thousand reached Jerusalem, but Hasid died shortly after his arrival.

The pilgrims were dependent upon the charity of the Jews in

Jerusalem, who were themselves destitute and soon without means to assist the pilgrims. Some of the Sabbathaians, disillusioned and discouraged, joined Turkish Sabbathaians who posed as Mohammedans; some returned to Western Europe or Poland and mystified the credulous with tales of marvels; and some, persuaded by German missionaries, embraced Christianity. Malakh and a few adherents who lingered in Jerusalem patterned their symbolic services after the Sabbathaian ritual and performed dances before a wooden image of Sabbathai. Expelled from Jerusalem, Malakh traveled in Turkey and kept in touch with the Sabbathaians. When the rabbis banished him from Constantinople, he returned to his native country and carried on his propaganda in Podolia and Galicia until his death, about 1720.

Disruption and failure of Hasidim, however, did not stay the spread of Sabbathaianism in Poland. In Galicia and Podolia the conventicles of Secret Sabbathaians, known as Shebsitzvinnes—or, in abbreviated form, Shebsen—continued to hold meetings much as before. They abandoned or altered many Jewish ceremonies, among them the fast of the ninth of Ab, which, because it was the birthday of Sabbathai, they transformed from a day of mourning into a festival day. The cult contained elements both of asceticism and of libertinism. Some adherents practiced repentance and self-torture, and mourned for Zion; others indulged in debaucheries and excesses. Alarmed by this dangerous heresy, the rabbis took energetic measures to suppress it. In the summer of 1722, rabbis from various communities assembled in Lemberg and with solemn ceremonies proclaimed the *harem*, or excommunication, against all Sabbathaians who did not renounce their errors and return to the path of orthodoxy within a specified time. These repressive measures were partly successful. Many Sabbathaians publicly confessed their sins and submitted to severe penances. In most cases, however, the Shebsen clung stubbornly to their heresy. In 1725 the rabbis launched a second *harem* against them. This act of excommunication made it incumbent upon each orthodox Jew to report to rabbinic authorities all Secret Sabbathaians known to him. The act of excommunication, sent to many communities, was publicly recited in the synagogues. Persecutions, however, did not destroy the heresy and secret Sabbathaianism lingered throughout Podolia and Galicia.

For a while Sabbathaian messianic hope seemed to be fulfilled

in Jacob Frank (1726-1791), who attracted a following among Turkish and Wallachian Jews. Judah Leib, father of Jacob Frank, belonged to the lower Jewish clergy, which entertained many mystic beliefs. Leib, suspected of Sabbathaianism, was expelled from the community which he had served as a rabbi, and went to Wallachia. Here young Jacob grew up in an atmosphere of mysticism, superstition, and moral laxity. He detested study and remained, as he later said, an ignoramus. In Wallachia he was a clerk in a shop. Later, he peddled jewelry and notions through towns and villages. He lived for some time in Saloniki and Smyrna, the centers of Sabbathaianism, and there, probably, received the nickname Frank or Frenk, a designation applied in Turkey, since the Crusades, to Europeans. In these cities he met Sabbathaians and from 1752 to 1755 participated in their symbolic semi-Mohammedan cult. In 1755 he went to Podolia and initiated leaders of the local Shebsen into the Sabbathaian doctrines. Members of the sect arranged secret meetings at which he expounded religious mysteries centering around the Sabbathaian Trinity—God, the messiah, and the Shekhinah, a female hypostasis of God. Frank claimed to be the second person of the Trinity and a reincarnation of Sabbathai. During a fair held in Lantzkorona in 1756 he and his followers, at an inn, sang hymns and indulged in ecstatic merrymaking and dancing. Inquisitive outsiders who spied upon the assembly declared that members of the group danced around a nude woman (who, perhaps, represented the Shekhinah or Maronitha, the third person of the Trinity). Disgusted by these alleged orgies, orthodox Jews informed local authorities that a Turkish subject was agitating among the people and propagating a new religion. The gay company was arrested. Frank, a foreigner, was banished to Turkey, and adherents of the sect were delivered to the rabbis and the civil authorities.

Subsequently Frank was recalled from Turkey by his followers and returned to Podolia with a plan to banish his opponents. His discourses emphasized his exalted mission and proclaimed divine revelations commanding him to follow Sabbathai's example. As Sabbathai had been compelled temporarily to adopt Mohammedanism, so he and his followers were predestined by a higher power to adopt Christianity as a disguise and make it a stepping-stone to the "faith of the true messiah." However, opponents

added their testimony to the ritual murder accusations then rife in Poland and Frank was discredited.

The coming of the messiah was heralded anew about 1750 by Besht, a Polish Jew who was probably inspired by the Frank movement. To his brother-in-law, Kutover, a citizen of the Holy Land, he sent a prophetic manifesto which described a miraculous vision and claimed that on the Jewish New Year his soul had been taken to heaven, where he beheld the messiah and many souls of the dead. In reply to Besht's plea, "Let me know my Master when thou wilt appear on earth," the messiah replied, "This shall be a sign unto thee: when thy doctrine shall become law, and the fountains of thy wisdom shall be poured forth, when all other men shall have the power of performing the same mysteries as thyself, then shall disappear all the hosts of impurity, and the time of great favor and salvation shall arrive." The common people believed that Besht was a miracle-worker, and loved and revered him as a religious teacher who made no distinction between the educated and the ignorant. His wise discourses and parables, in which even the most obscure passages of the *Cabala* were illustrated in popular language and applied to everyday life, fascinated Cabalists and scholars. The number of his followers in Madzhibozh constantly increased. Meanwhile many Frankists in Podolia were baptized into Christianity. Polish Jews rejoiced in the conversion of Sabbathaians to Christianity, for, they said, these conversions purged Jewish communities of dangerous heretics. When Besht was informed of the baptisms he exclaimed: "I heard the Lord cry and say: 'As long as the diseased limb is joined to the body, there is hope that in time it may be cured; but when it has been cut off, it is lost forever.' "

Napoleon was regarded by some Jews as a possible messiah or the forerunner of a messiah. This view was more prevalent in Russia than elsewhere. Napoleon's order to convene a Jewish Sanhedrin in Paris in 1807 surprised and delighted many Jews. Such an assemblage had not met since the destruction of the Second Temple. "A great event," wrote a prominent Jew of Napoleon's day, "is about to take place, one which through a long series of centuries our fathers, and even we in our own times, never expected to see, and which has now appeared before the eyes of the astonished world." The Sanhedrin which Napoleon assembled in Paris aroused suspicion among European sovereigns, who already had sufficient occasion to fear the scheming Emperor. The Rus-

sian Holy Synod sent to the Greek Orthodox clergy a circular letter declaring that Napoleon "now planneth to unite the Jews, whom the wrath of the Almighty hath scattered over the face of the whole earth, so as to incite them to overthrow the Christian Church and proclaim the pseudo-Messiah in the person of Napoleon." This statement was designed to frighten the Jews by the specter of an anti-Jewish Napoleon and at the same time to inspire in Orthodox Russians the belief that Napoleon supported the Jewish cause. The Jews were assured that the Sanhedrin was directed against their religion, and the Russians were told that it was established by the Jewish "pseudo-Messiah" to effect the overthrow of Christianity.

In August, 1872, a messiah proclaimed himself in Berlin. He announced to the Jewish congregation that the day of the fall of Jerusalem should no longer be commemorated with sorrow, for the King of Israel had come and soon would ascend the throne as the messiah. A contemporary, Ari Shocher, performed miracles in Yemen and attracted the attention of Bedouins. Their flocks increased under his spells, and his reputation spread afar. Later, when misfortune overtook the flocks, the Arabs turned upon their former benefactor, who was forced to flee for his life and take refuge in a cave. Although the Arabs knew Shocher was a Jew, they accepted him as their messiah. His Jewish countrymen expected him to crush the Arabs and lead the Jews to the Holy Land. He readily assumed the character that his countrymen bestowed upon him, accepted many fine presents, and lived in princely fashion until some Arabs waylaid and killed him. Many believed he was not dead, and some said that he appeared in another form near Sana and declared he would later return as in life.

* * *

Messianic hope and prayers for restoration of Jewish national independence and the rebuilding of Jerusalem have continued in Jewish liturgy. At the end of the synagogue service the messianic hymn, *Alenu,* is recited by orthodox Jews. The liturgy contains prayers for the advent of the messianic period when justice and righteousness will be established on earth, universal peace will reign, Israel will be restored to her ancient patrimony, and knowledge of God and exalted morality will fill the earth. The ceremony of striking off the leaves of the willow twig, during the Feast of Tabernacles, has been interpreted as expressing hope for the resurrection and the arrival of the messianic age. Jews hold that as the leafless autumn trees symbolized by these twigs revive and produce

new leaves, flowers, and fruit, so the apparently inanimate body of Israel will receive new life and strength. The ceremony probably reflects earlier concepts of the renewal of vegetation but the interpretation of present-day orthodox Jews illustrates the persistence of the messianic hope. The query of the Hasidim, "Why standeth thou so far off, O Jahweh?" has its counterparts in the prayer of the Kaddish, "May he establish his Kingdom in your days," and the worship in the Sabbath morning service: "There is none to be compared unto thee, O Lord our God, in this world, neither is there any beside thee, O our King, for the life of the world to come; there is none but thee, O our Redeemer, for the days of the Messiah."

In the weekly prayers in the synagogue the advent and protection of the messiah are devoutly sought. The Haggadic *Midrashim* closes with verses of encouragement to the oppressed, and prophesies the redemption of Israel and the arrival of the messianic era. The twelfth article of the present Jewish creed, dating from the days of Maimonides, declares: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah and though he tarry I will wait for his coming." A few decades ago, the average Jewish lad in a Russian or Polish village looked forward to the coming of the messiah as confidently as he expected the return of his father to the household. Everywhere the orthodox Jew awaits a personal messiah. During the Passover celebration in the Jewish household, the door is opened so that the messiah, if he should be at the threshold, may enter, and will not be kept waiting. A glass of wine is placed aside for Elijah, his forerunner. Elijah, that mysterious character of the Bible who appears suddenly, shows indomitable courage and fervent faith, and disappears as suddenly as he came, has been a prominent figure in Jewish legend. For centuries he has been the herald of the final redemption of Israel. The story of the first redemption kindles hope of future redemption and a great and glorious destiny.

In recent years liberal Jews have abolished or modified the prayers for the coming of a personal messiah and have interpreted the messianic hope as referring to the spiritual regeneration of Jews. The reform movement of the last century advocated abandonment of the belief that the messiah would restore Israel. It suggested an interpretation of the messianic era as a time when all nations would be united in brotherly love under a God acknowledged by the civilized world. Rabbi Solomon Schindler declared

that Thomas Jefferson, who proclaimed the doctrine of equal rights for all, was the true messiah, though not the kind of messiah Israel had long awaited.

Reformed Jews reluctantly and half-heartedly relinquished hope of a personal messiah, and substituted hope for national or religious regeneration. Morris Joseph, who discountenanced the messianic belief, declared: "If, then, we meet with Jews who believe in the Return, in national revival, in a personal Messiah, let no one venture to say dogmatically that they are wrong. The Messiah is always moving among us, in the shape of every noble self-sacrificing man and woman; and when these angels of light have driven out the dark spectres that haunt the earth, when sin shall have yielded its sceptre to goodness, then the glorious age will dawn." Another spokesman has said: "Liberal Judaism has always tended to a firm grasp of Messianism, in the form of a belief in the perfectibility of human nature, of a steady advance toward that end, and of the ultimate conversion of the world to monotheism, and the establishment of the universal Kingdom of God."

There is no fully adequate explanation of the persistence of the messianic hope among the Jews. No other religious group has shown comparable enduring stamina under poverty, estrangement from homeland, and the contempt of oppressors. The Jews have maintained an unparalleled constancy of faith in their destiny, and an unexampled fidelity to their religion. Their messianism is part of these qualities, cause and effect, supplement and counterpart. Hope and the expectation of the messianic kingdom were steadying factors in religious and social life. "The magnificent picture of the future kingdom, the glorious position of Israel, the vengeance the Messiah would wreak upon all Israel's enemies, and the vision of the restored Jerusalem and the rebuilt Temple were a constant consolation to the oppressed and downtrodden Israelites." Oppression rekindled hope in the hearts of the faithful; through the centuries the Jewish messiah has been a child of persecution and an apostle of hope. In the *Song of Redemption* Solomon Ibn Gabirol, poet and philosopher, who was born in Spain in 1021, wrote:

> Men have despised me, knowing not that shame
> For Thy Name's glory is my glorious pride,
> Wounded and crushed, beneath my load I sigh,
> Despised and abject, outcast, trampled low,
> How long, O Lord, shall I of violence cry?

Similarly hope was voiced at the end of a medieval Jewish table-hymn sung after the Sabbath meal:

> Build, O rebuild Thou, Thy temple,
> Fill again Zion, Thy city.
> Clad with delight will we go there,
> Other and new songs to sing there.

The Jews were segregated in the ghetto, removed from the Gentile world, their life was self-contained, and their customs and traditions did not compete with those of other cultures. This isolation favored the cultivation of ancient ideals and customs. The Jews in their Ghetto, a little Zion, awaited the call of the messiah, whom at any moment they would follow to a Palestinian Zion. Had they been dwellers on the banks of the Jordan or at the foot of Mount Carmel their lives could scarcely have been more deeply tinged by customs and visions of the Holy Land. They believed they would be gathered again to the land of their ancestors. The obligation to marry was strengthened by the belief that the messiah would not come until all souls awaiting earthly life had been born. Although Maimonides, the great medieval theologian, after voicing the messianic hope which orthodox Judaism still follows, inserted a caution against giving it a practical turn, his warning has been consistently disregarded. Schindler recorded a desire rather than a fact when he stated, a half century ago, that "the idea of the advent of a Messiah has died of late; is stone dead now, and ought to be buried by the side of similar defunct ideas, in spite of all opposition which may be raised against its final interment" and that "there is not one among us who expects the advent of a messiah." The messianic hope, like a pillar of fire, has guided the Jews through long nights of despair. It has faded with the dawn of better times and has vanished in the light of freedom and prosperity. But it has returned with adversity.

Probably none of the messiahs who sought to save Israel improved the status of the Jews. Many of them left the people in greater misery than before. Perhaps, as Schindler has surmised, "had they lived in times of prosperity, when their actions could have been judged in calmness; had they been able to improve the condition of their friends, morally or materially, we should have heard much more of them." Even so, these messiahs kept messianism alive although their false pretensions discredited it. Disappointment might break the spirit and confound the faith of

followers, but the messiah has ever been present in thought and vision.

Though rabbinic interdict has tried to repress the dangerous curiosity which sought to penetrate the secrets of the future—"Cursed is he who calculates the time of the messiah's coming"—the prohibition has been consistently disregarded. Through the centuries, especially in the ghetto, the annual Feast of Tabernacles has rekindled gratitude for miraculous preservation in the wilderness. The Feast of Dedication has reminded the Jews of their deliverance from the Hellenic yoke. On the Passover Eve they have conducted the *Seder*, most ancient of house services. Faith, that priceless heirloom of Israel, has transported the dwellers of the ghetto from their surroundings to the radiance of Zion. The prayer offered on the first Sabbath of the Passover voices the pathos of a people defeated, yet hopeful: "Make haste, my beloved, whilst thou delightest in the love of our espousals; have pity on us again, for the wicked rulers, our captors and mockers, have destroyed us; destroy and uproot them from our midst; reestablish thy stronghold and let our offspring sing: Behold, he standeth behind our wall!"

Although messianism isolates the nation that cherishes it, it also solidifies that nation, unifies the people, and gives them a common purpose. The harp of Judah has always awakened echoes in Jewish hearts. "It is," says I. H. Pereira Mendes, "the music of the Messianic age, the triumph-hymn to be one day thundered by all humanity, the real psalm of life as mankind shall sing it when Israel's world-task of teaching it shall have been accomplished." In the words of Claude G. Montefiore, "The Golden Age, the Messianic Era, the Kingdom of God, are doctrines which Judaism cannot relinquish, and which, with whatever changes of form and of manner, it must still continue to cherish and teach." Exultant faith hears no denial. As Ralph Turner has said: "Judaism, more than any other religion, preserved not only the cultural tradition of a people but also a people. When the last disasters of the second century A.D. completed the dispersion of the Jewish nation, the nation lived only in Judaism; i.e., Judaism received the in-group loyalties commonly organized in political forms. This result was the outcome of the early Hebrew identification of social experience with divine action."

Chapter V

CHRISTIAN MESSIAHS

During the first fifteen centuries of Christianity there is no record of any individual who claimed to be Christ or a reincarnation of Jesus.

The first Christian known to have proclaimed himself as the messiah was John of Leyden (Jan Beukelsz), who first began to attract attention about 1530. He decorated himself with appropriate symbols, and wore upon his head a golden chain from which hung an ornament of gold, symbolizing the terrestrial globe; he carried a cross and two swords, one of gold and the other of silver, the latter bearing the inscription, "King of Righteousness Over the Whole World." He assumed the title, "the Father," and required of his followers a pledge to do his will and, if necessary, suffer death in his service. As universal Father and Lord he demanded that all possessions, land, money, arms, and merchandise, be surrendered to him for use in the establishment of his kingdom. He denounced those who refused to believe in and obey him, and called down upon them the vengeance of heaven and eternal damnation. Priests, he proclaimed, were the children of darkness. He threatened to put to death all sovereigns and destroy all churches and convents; and he insisted that he alone and those whom he enlightened with his spirit understood the Scriptures. He interpreted as referring to himself prophecies of the Old Testament which were usually considered as applying to Christ. He sanctioned polygamy and took several wives.

In 1550 Joseph Melstinski, a Pole, declared himself the Christ,

and chose twelve apostles. Three years after Melstinski's death his body was exhumed and burned at the stake. In Langensalze, in 1614, Ezekiel Meth proclaimed himself the Archangel Michael and Grand Duke of God. In the following year Isaiah Stieffel declared: "I am the Christ, I am the living word of God." At Oppenheim, in the Palatinate, Philippus Ziegler prophesied in 1624 that a messiah of the line of David would be born in Holland.

In England in the seventeenth century civil strife and social disorders were rife and millennial expectations ran high. Sir John Harington, who died in 1612, left an unfinished work entitled, *Discourse showing that Elyas must personally come before the Day of Judgment.* In his *Christianopolis* (1619) Andreae described the messiah as one "who united all in a wonderful harmony and conducts all wisely and powerfully." In 1650 John Tawney declared in London that he was the Lord's high priest (as well as the King of France) and that he was ordained to lead the Jews to Jerusalem. Trouble ensued and Tawney escaped to Holland in a small boat. Jerusalem was his ultimate destination, but he was not heard of again. During the same year John Robins announced himself as Adam, Melchizedek, and the Lord. Robins claimed that he had raised Jeremiah, Benjamin, and others from the dead. He prophesied that he would lead a hundred and forty-four thousand men and women, by way of the Red Sea, to the Mount of Olives.

James Nayler, an English Puritan, became convinced about 1651 that he was Christ incarnate. He collected a small band of disciples and in 1665, in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, he rode into Bristol on horseback, "a rawboned nude figure, with lank hair reaching below his cheeks." Seven followers attended him, singing, "Hosana! Holy, Holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" The following year he was convicted of blasphemy, whipped, and branded on the forehead; his tongue was bored with a red-hot iron; and he was imprisoned at hard labor for two years.

John Rogers, a seventeenth century English preacher, wrote a pamphlet, *Sagrir or Domesday Drawing Nigh* (1653) in which he heaped abuse upon the laws of the Fourth Monarchy and heralded the near advent of the Fifth Monarchy. All good laws, he declared, had emanated from the people, but successive conquests had robbed them of their rights. He insisted that priests and lawyers constituted the two national plagues and that they must be removed before the Church of Christ could be reformed. By 1666,

he declared, there would be signs throughout the world of the coming of the Fifth Monarchy. A later pamphlet by Robins, *Channuccah, or a Tabernacle for the Sun*, described the duties of the saints who were to prepare men for the coming event. His following, which included many desperate men, increased rapidly. The belief spread that the men of the Fifth Monarchy would surmount all obstacles and that each man would subdue a thousand. "Men impoverished by long troubles," wrote Pell, a contemporary, "must needs have great propensions to hearken to those that proclaim a golden age at hand, under the name of Christ and the saints, especially as so many prophecies are applied to these times." Harrison, a leader of the sect, died with the conviction that he would shortly return, at the right hand of Christ, to judge his judges.

The Camisards or "French Prophets," who escaped from France early in the eighteenth century and took refuge in England, preached communal living and announced the near advent of the messiah. They gained many followers in England, but finally their meetings were banned. In 1798 they suffered a serious setback after predicting that Thomas Emes, a member of the sect, would rise from the dead. His failure to do so brought discredit upon them and their belief in a messiah who would restore them to their own land and establish their faith throughout the world. Belief in resurrection was widespread at this time. In Scotland in 1788, Deacon Brodie, awaiting hanging in Edinburgh, prophesied his resuscitation—which did not occur. However, "folks said he had been seen and spoken with in Paris; and that on his grave being afterwards opened—when and in what circumstances we are not informed—'not a bone of him was to be found.' "

Early in the nineteenth century John Wroe was proclaimed messiah by a small sect of devotees, who became known as Christian Israelites. Later, Henry James Price, once a Church of England clergyman, claimed that he had been absorbed into the Divine Personality and "embodied the Holy Spirit." In Somersetshire he obtained many followers, whose liberal contributions built an "Abode of Love." In 1902 Price's successor, T. H. Smyth-Pigott, founded a sect known as Agapemonites, or Community of the Son of Man. He presided over the "Ark" in London, and declared himself the Christ.

In France Catherine Theot, who was born about 1716, pro-

claimed herself Mother of God and promised to receive into immortality all her children—that is, all who believed in her. During Robespierre's regime she attracted many followers in Paris. Robespierre himself attended a service in her church and subsequently dined with her several times in company with others. Her followers later called her "Mother of Christ."

Within the sacred College of the Saint-Simonians, adherents of Saint-Simon's socialism, an empty chair stood by Enfantin, Père Supreme. The Saint-Simonians believed that a female messiah would take her place by the side of Enfantin and that she would proclaim the emancipation of her sex. "We hope," pleaded Saint-Simon, "for the advent of a woman, a messiah of her sex, who will save the world from prostitution as Jesus delivered it from bondage. I know that I am Precursor of that female messiah: I am to her what John the Baptist was to Jesus; she permeates my whole life and motivates all my acts." Lady Hester Stanhope boasted: "The St. Simonians came to see me; they thought to get hold of me, but they were mistaken. I know the woman that will suit them; a great *bint el hawa,* a beautiful creature."

In 1867, David Lazzaretti obtained an interview with the Pope, following a vision of the Madonna. Shortly thereafter he pursued theological studies for a brief period at the hemitage of Montorio Romano in the Sabine Mountains. In 1870 he went to the island of Monte Cristo, where he had a large following as a holy and austere man who had divine visions. After awaiting in vain the second coming of Christ, he became convinced that he was himself the messiah. Lazzaretti chose twelve disciples and, in imitation of Christ's fast of forty days, fasted in midwinter. He is said to have received communications from God amid tempest, crash of thunder, and earthquake. In August, 1875, he organized a society at Montelabro, and placed a priest at the head of it. Two months later he published a book, *My Wrestling with God or the Book of the Eternal Cities,* which was a mixture of *Genesis, Revelation,* and much inanity and insanity. To the Princes of Christendom he addressed a manifesto in which he designated himself the great Monarch. He invited them to come unto him, for, "at an unexpected time the end of the world shall be manifested to the Latin Nation in a way quite opposed to human pride." Later he promised to perform a miracle to convince men that God had sent him as Christ, judge, and leader. Lazzaretti claimed that he was in-

vulnerable and that a sign from his staff would annihilate his opponents. He boasted that he would live in the Vatican and provide another residence for the Pope, and that the King of Italy would become his subject.

In Germany, in 1918, the Commander of the 19th Army Corps of Leipzig prohibited meetings of a sect known as the Little Flock, which originated in Meerane, and became popular, especially among young people, in Saxony. The leader of the sect was a weaver named Hain who was addressed as Holy Father by his adherents. He posed as a messiah and pronounced sentence from his judgment-seat. His popularity may be attributed partly to his attack on the established clergy who, he pointed out, drew stipends, whereas the Apostle Paul and himself had not done so. In 1921 Muck Lamberty preached in Thuringia the doctrine of "Ardor is Spirit" (*Glut ist Geist*). He was frequently hailed as a messiah and preached his gospel with great success until, as a result perhaps of too much ardor, he was charged with sexual promiscuity. Shortly before the First World War, a former bricklayer in Berlin named Weissenberg announced himself as God become flesh, and the risen Christ. He established a sect which acquired some hundred and twenty thousand adherents. His church, which accommodated twenty thousand people, was usually well filled. He edited a "revelation" newspaper in which the names of Raphael, the angel Gabriel, Bismarck, and Frederick the Great appeared as contributors of leading articles. Weissenberg sought to organize invalids and those with mental weaknesses arising from despair and poverty. By 1933 he enjoyed great popularity — and so, too, did Adolph Hitler.

The record of Russian aspirants to messiaship is long. In the sixteenth century, Bashkin inspired a sect living east of the Volga, which denied that Christ was equal with the Father and that eucharistic bread and wine were the blood and flesh of Christ. The government confined him in a monastery. Kosoy, a Muscovite, revived the sect, and declared that Jesus was not God but mere man. Kosoy rejected the theories of redemption and miracles by icons, and denounced prayers, fasts, ceremonies, and monasticism.

These cults, and the Anabaptist and Quaker movements, were partly responsible for the origin and success of the Doukhobors, whose first leader, Savely Kapustin, was a Prussian officer and a Quaker. As the reincarnated Christ, Kapustin directed his fol-

lowers to renounce all earthly leaders, although they might share divine honors with him. He taught that Christ was a man of god-like intellect whose soul entered many mortals, including Kolesnikov, an early sponsor of the cult. The Doukhobors bowed before Kapustin "as before the Deity." He ruled "like a king, or rather as a prophet," championed the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and declared Christ was born again in every believer. Kapustin taught that when God descended into Jesus as the Christ, He sought out the purest and most perfect man. The soul of Jesus, by the law of the transmigration of souls, continued to animate other human bodies. For Jesus said: "I am with you always, until the end of the world." In the first centuries after Christ, said Kapustin, every believer recognized the new Jesus, who was the guide and ruler of Christendom, and decided disputes respecting the faith. Jesus, thus always born again, was called Pope; but later false Popes obtained the throne. "Sylvan Kolesnikof, of Nilolsk," said Kapustin, "whom the older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above me and the earth under my feet, I am the True Jesus Christ your Lord."

Ilarion Pobirohin, well-to-do wool-dealer in the village of Gorelow, was among those who adopted the Doukhobor faith. Not content to be a mere son of God, he proclaimed himself Christ. He established a theocratic despotism, chose twelve apostles and twelve "Death-bearing Angels." Those who lapsed from the faith were designated for punishment by the Angels. Another Doukhobor, Adrian Pushkin, merchant in Perm, insisted in a document he sent to the Holy Synod that he was a new reincarnation of Christ. His frankness brought him solitary confinement for fifteen years. Nevertheless, Leo Tolstoy referred to the religion of the Doukhobors as "the germinating of the seed sown by Christ eighteen hundred years ago; the resurrection of Christ himself." Peter Verigin, a "Fasting" Doukhobor, was regarded by some members of the sect as Christ; others considered him a God-man, an earthly Deity, or a prophet. A document of July 28, 1901, declared: "This Lord is our leader, Peter Vasilyevitch Verigin. His beauty is in his wisdom; in flesh he is pure. We strive toward him, esteem him God and Tsar, and with full desire to yield ourselves to his power."

Another sect, the Khlysti or Flagellants, were led by Daniel Philloppitch. "I am the God announced by the prophets," he proclaimed in 1645, "come down to earth the second time for the sal-

vation of the human race; and there is no God but me." According to Khlysti tradition, in 1645, in the days of the Czar Alexis, "God the Father, accompanied by hosts of heaven," descended upon Mount Gorodin, in Vladimir, on a wagon of fire surrounded by a cloud. The wagon returned to heaven, but the Lord remained on earth and became manifest in the person of Daniel Philloppitch. He proclaimed himself God and designated his son, Ivan Suslof, as Christ. He lived with a woman whom he called Mother-of-God, or Daughter-of-God, and chose twelve disciples. His followers met and worshipped him in a decrepit abandoned church in the village of Rabotniki. Suslof, after delegating authority to Lupkin, died in Moscow, in 1716. Lupkin proclaimed his own wife Mother-of-God. With the assistance of twenty apostles he taught in Nizhnii Novgorod, Vladimir, and Yaroslaf. In an attempt to suppress the movement, the government deprived the Bishop of Rostof, a convert, of his bishopric; he was tortured and executed in Red Square in Moscow in the presence of Peter the Great. Moscow was the center of the activities of the Christs Serge Osipov, Valis Stepanov, and the more famous Andreyan Petrov, the "Happy Idiot." Petrov had entree to the houses of the aristocracy, where his propaganda met with considerable success.

Ancient Khlysti songs tell of two "Christs": Averyan, who lived in the fourteenth century, and Yemelyan, who labored in Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible. Most Russian scholars consider the sect older than the historic information about it. The pretensions of the founder were supported by the tradition that his commandments were issued by a son, born to him fifteen years before the father's appearance in the world, by a woman one hundred years old. The son, Ivan Suslof, or Ivan Timofejen, ascended with his father, Daniel, into heaven. Then, the legend continues, Jesus the Christ descended in the person of Ivan; assisted by his twelve disciples, he preached the twelve commandments given by his father, and married a maiden, the Mother of God. Crucified and buried on a Friday, Ivan rose from the dead the following Sunday, and appeared among his followers. Again he was seized by the authorities, tried, and crucified. This time he was flayed. A female follower wrapped the body in a sheet, out of which a new skin formed. He was again resurrected and went about preaching.

Another version of the tradition says that Suslof chose twelve apostles, who traveled with him along the Volga until Tsar Mil-

hailovich arrested them and took them to Moscow. There, on the wall of the Kremlin by the Savior's Gate, Ivan was crucified. On Saturday, three days after his death, he arose from the grave and appeared before his apostles. Again royal spies seized him, flayed him, and nailed him to the cross. Again he arose from the dead. He was captured again, but on the day appointed for the third execution the Tsaritsa gave birth to a son, Peter Alexevich, destined to become Peter the Great, and in celebration of the royal birth the Tsar released Ivan from prison. He lived in Moscow for thirty years. When he reached the age of one hundred years, he was taken to heaven in glory, where he rejoined his father Daniel Philoppitch. The Savior then became incarnate in a humble archer of the Baturin regiment, Andreyan Petrov, a peasant who stammered, made meaningless gestures, and wandered through the villages, summer and winter, clad only in a shirt. He had been considered insane, but the peasants, nevertheless, recognized him as the Christ. They fell upon their knees before him and exclaimed: "Christus Andriushka, bless us and save our souls."

Later God entered the prophet Radaev, who had been a depraved, licentious, and wretched sinner. At one time he had cohabited with thirteen women; but his acts were not considered sins, for they were said to be inspired by the spirit of God. Radaev explained: "I have debased the women who sacrificed their chastity to me that they might not be proud and vain of their virtue. What can bring pride lower than abasement through sin?" The sect repudiated the title of Khlysti, given them by outsiders, and called themselves Lydi Bozliri, Men of God. They drew down the Spirit by means of song, feasts, and especially dances. One who received the Spirit in full was regarded as a Christ. Those who received the Spirit in lesser degree were called apostles or ecclesiastical saints, and were honored as prophets or prophetesses. Jesus, they said, became a Christ only after receiving the Spirit subsequent to baptism. Some members of the sect received the Spirit permanently and others only temporarily. The Khlysti Christs were seldom motivated by the traditional messianic ideal. The sect believed the Holy Spirit revealed itself in secret. Sometimes the Christs, Mothers-of-God, prophets, and especially prophetesses, were also ordinary members of the community. Under ecstatic influence, they broke into improvised doggerel and prophesied the "common fate" of individuals who were not members of the sect.

At the summer solstice, devotees danced around a tub of water above which they saw a "golden Christ" in the vapor over the vessel.

The United States, like Russia, has a long record of aspirants to messiahship. Jemima Wilkinson, a young woman who "died" in 1776, revived shortly thereafter and became the mouthpiece of divinity. As Universal Friend, she preached to followers in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and in her native New York. One Sarah Richards co-operated with her as "the prophet Daniel operating in these latter days in the female line." Another companion, originally baptized as James Parker, claimed that he was inspired by the spirit of Elijah. Jemima's followers identified her as the Spirit of Life from God, and as the returned Christ, a designation which she neither affirmed nor denied.

In August, 1828, there appeared in Salesville, Ohio, a man later known as the Leatherwood God. He was first seen as a visitor at a camp meeting. During a solemn silence, after the preacher had demanded repentance and the emotions of the audience were wrought to a high pitch, the people heard a reverberating shout: "Salvation!" The shout was followed by sounds which have been likened to equine snorts. The preacher paused in his sermon, and the congregation turned to see a stranger of odd appearance, his solemn countenance unperturbed by the flutter of excitement. For several minutes the preacher could not proceed with the sermon. The congregation was fascinated by the stranger, whose arrival no one had seen. "He was there, but that is all we will ever know about it." He wore a black broadcloth suit, frock coat, white cravat, and yellow beaver hat, though the usual dress of the community was linsey-wool hats, hunting shirts, and wamuses. The wonder grew that he could enter the congregation unseen and, until he spoke, sit unnoticed. He was probably between forty-five and fifty years of age, about five feet, eight inches in height, straight as an arrow, a little heavy about the shoulders, and "tapered symmetrically to the feet." His eyes were large, black and flashing, his nose slightly Roman, his forehead low and broad. His long, glossy, jet-black hair, thrown back from the forehead over the ears, hung in heavy masses over his shoulders and reached almost to the middle of his back. His pale face reflected solemnity and perhaps melancholy. When the meeting ended, the people gathered around him and discovered that his name was Joseph C. Dylks.

Salesville churchgoers were to hear many times that shout and snort which induced awe and fear, electrified the congregation, and "carried with them, right through you, a thrill like that felt when greatly scared in the dark." They inspired a dread compared to "that experienced when we think of dying instantly." Men jumped to their feet or "bounced in their seats" and women shrieked. Soon he privately declared himself a celestial being with a heavenly mission. During the first three weeks, however, he did not make these claims publicly. Sometimes he led the camp-meetings, though he informed his hearers that he was not a preacher but merely a teacher. Richard Harry Taneyhill writes that he was secretly impressing certain members of the community with his tremendous spiritual powers. He said that he had come to the camp-meeting in his spiritual body, then taken a corporeal one and clothed it as they saw him there. He could disappear and reappear at pleasure, perform miracles, and finally, he claimed that he was the true messiah come to set up the millennium. He would establish a kingdom that should never end. He himself should never die. All who believed in him should live forever in their natural bodies, and hold the earth as an everlasting heritage. His kingdom would spread over the whole earth, and nothing but holiness dwell therein. His body could be touched only by his permission. With one shout and one snort, he could strike out the universe.

About three weeks after Dylks' first appearance at the camp meeting he announced that one McCormick, during a journey, would be Paul the Apostle. Almost immediately thereafter, so the story goes, they were confronted by the devil. "Did you not hear that sound—like the rushing storm?" asked Dylks. "It was the Adversary of souls cleaving the air. I saw him sweep with hell-lit wings the top of yonder woods, and dart to earth to give me battle. Fear not, I will vanquish him." Then, according to McCormick, they "started on, shortly descending into a ravine, thickly wooded, with steep hills on both sides of the road, when we saw the devil standing in our way. Dylks dismounted for the conflict, and exclaimed in a loud voice: 'Fear not, Paul; this done, my work is done.' With a firm and deliberate step, Dylks marched on to the combat. We followed with all the haste we could, keeping close upon him, until we came in sight of Mason's house, when the devil jumped the fence and sprang to the door. The door did not open,

but the devil disappeared from us." When they entered the house, one of the occupants, the Reverend David Mason, rose from a bed and embraced Dylks as his Savior, "remarking that the devil had taken possession of him, and that he knew Dylks, as soon as he came in, as his deliverer." Dylks then bound the devil for a thousand years, "not to be loosed to meddle in the affairs of men." After his return from this journey Dylks never again shouted "Salvation!" but merely snorted.

When Dylks publicly proclaimed messiahship and declared he had come to establish a kingdom on earth, saner members of the community were startled. They learned with astonishment that some of the most respectable men were adherents. Half of the members of the community church were now converts.

On the Sunday night following his journey with McCormick, Dylks' adherents seized the church and dedicated it to the new sect. The messiah preached the dedication sermon. His opening words were cautious and restrained, but as the discourse proceeded, his courage grew, and finally he shouted: "I am God, and there is none else. I am God and the Christ united. . . . All who put their trust in me shall never taste death, but shall be translated into the New Jerusalem, which I am about to bring down from Heaven." In response the brethren shouted: "We shall never die." Women screamed, Dylks snorted, and unconverted spectators muttered indignant exclamations. The dedication ceremony became an uproarious tumult. When Dylks descended from the pulpit, a follower exclaimed: "Behold our God!" Enthralled believers knelt and worshipped him. A few days later his claims were challenged and the dubious demanded a miracle. Dylks accepted the challenge. He said that if cloth were furnished him he would make a seamless garment. The miracle would be performed at a designated house on a specified evening. Cloth was supplied. Many came to witness the miracle, but Dylks did not come to perform it. No explanation of his absence was offered. His influenc began to wane. It diminished disastrously when a group of opponents seized him, and the enraged father of a young daughter who was a member of the sect pulled from the self-styled messiah's head a goodly portion of hair, though Dylks had said that not a hair of his head could be touched. Dylks' opponents haled him before a magistrate, but the magistrate could discover no punishable offense that he had committed. Dylks escaped from his captors and went into

hiding, but after several weeks reappeared publicly among his followers and again moved about freely in the community.

In October, 1828, Dylks declared he would not bring down the New Jerusalem in Salesville, but would locate it in Philadelphia. He left instructions that while he was away preparing the City of Brotherly Love for its new role, his followers should turn their faces to the east, when they prayed, and he would remember them. When the New Jerusalem had been prepared, he and his apostles would return, gather together the faithful, and transplant them to this great city, whose "light would eclipse the splendor of the sun." Its temples and the residences of the faithful would be built of diamonds and would twinkle with a beauty excelling that of the stars. Its walls would be of solid gold, its gates of silver. The streets would be covered with green velvet, of richer luster than mortal eye had ever seen. The gardens would be filled with all kinds of fruits, pleasant to see and to taste. The faithful would ride in crimson chariots drawn by jet-black horses which needed no drivers. In this city their joys would increase forever. The air would be redolent with perfume of shrub and flower. Ten thousand instruments, tuned to the symphony of heaven, would fill courts, streets, temples, residences, and gardens with sweet music, perpetually delighting the souls of the saved. With three apostles Dylks set out on foot for Philadelphia. They took no money with them. Dylks drew from his pocket three copper coins, and declared, "As for money, these will be sufficient: for of them I can make millions of gold and silver." About three miles from their destination, at a fork in the road, Dylks said: "We meet again where the light from heaven shall shine brightest within the city, for there will the New Jerusalem begin to expand to fill the earth." They parted, and there his faithful followers, who included McCormick and a man named Brill, saw the Leatherwood God for the last time. McCormick and Brill went to Philadelphia. For many days they sought for the light, walked the streets in hope and fear, but they could not find the spot where heaven meets earth, the center of the New Jerusalem.

"The light never came, nor did Dylks or David." They searched until the last vestige of hope had vanished. Then, sorrowing, footsore, and penniles, they turned toward Baltimore. There they raised money by pledging their tobacco crop, which was then in the hands of a commission merchant, and returned home by

stage coach. They faithfuly recounted the events of their journey, and apparently suppressed nothing. But their report of Dylks' trickery had scarcely any effect upon the Salesville brotherhood, "illustrating that declaration of holy writ, that man may be so far led away by delusion that he will believe a lie to his own damnation." Until his death about two years after his return from Philadelphia, Brill remained a loyal believer in the pretensions of Dylks. McCormick lived many years after his return, and throughout the remainder of his life dressed much as Dylks had dressed at the time of his arrival, with long hair hanging below his shoulders; he remained steadfastly a Dylksite. About seven years after the trip to Philadelphia, a third apostle of Dylks, Peter, formerly the Reverend Davis, who had been an ordained preacher, returned and declared in the new church at Salesville that he had seen Dylks ascend to heaven; Dylks would soon return to earth to set up his kingdom here; he was God and the only true religion recognized him as God. As for Christianity, "it is only a hotchpotch of Judaism and heathenism." Davis left Salesville the next morning and was never again heard of in that community. But the spirit of Dylks kept marching on. In 1850 a man known as the "Rattlesnake Man" came into Barnesville, Ohio, and for a small fee exhibited a large rattlesnake which he carried concealed in a box. He declared that he would never die; he would live three hundrd and fifty years more and would be transferred to the New Jerusalem. For an hour he expatiated on the claims of Dylks, declaring he had seen him in the spirit and had frequently conversed with him. In these conversations Dylks had said that before the end of the century he would descend to earth and establish a kingdom of universal righteousness, though the New Jerusalem would not be built until three hundred and fifty years later. The man, who gave his name as Moses Hartley, stated that he lived in the mountains of what is now West Virginia; that he had been living in the Salesville settlement when Dylks made his advent there, and had seen him and heard him preach. Through the years the followers of Dylks adhered to their faith that he was God. Death carried off, one by one, "believers" who, according to the faith, would not die. Even so, the survivors remained steadfast. The church of the "old faith" was broken up, and could not be reorganized until many newcomers had settled in the neighborhood. "Those even who were little girls and boys then, but now [1870]

men and women going down the declivity of life, are still looking for the reappearance of Dylks to establish the New Jerusalem, and gather them within its walls."

In 1830, two years after Dylks' first appearance in Salesville, one Matthias went to Albany, New York, declared he was "the very Christ," and that he had come to judge the world. Individuals of respectable standing "worshipped him as God." He dressed in pontifical robes and carried a rule in his right hand, a two-edged sword in his left. Under a rich olive broadcloth cloak, lined and faced with silk and velvet, he wore a brown frock coat, decorated with several stars on each breast, among them a splendid gold star on the left breast. His belt of white cloth was fastened by a gold clasp surmounted by an eagle. Occasionally he wore a cocked hat of black beaver, trimmed with green. His description of himself was, in part, as follows: "I am chief high priest of the Jews of the order of Melchizedek, being the last chosen of the twelve apostles, and the first in the resurrection which is at the end of 2300 years from the birth of Mahomet, which terminated in 1830, that being the summit of the power of the false prophets." He was the Spirit of Truth, "which had disappeared from the earth at the death of Matthias mentioned in the New Testament." He asserted that Matthias, whom he now represented, had risen from the dead. "I know the end of all things," he said. His wardrobe was bountifully supplied with "new boots, shoes, and pumps; linen shirts of the most exquisite fineness, the wristbands fringed with delicate lace; silk stockings, handkerchiefs and gloves, coats embroidered with gold; merion morning dresses; and two caps made of linen cambric, folded in the form of mitre, richly embroidered, one with the names of the twelve apostles written around it, and 'Jesus Matthias' adorning the front in prominent characters, the other surrounded with the names of the twelve tribes, the front like the other." He proclaimed that with his two-edged sword he would destroy the Gentiles, as Gideon had destroyed the Midianites. With his six-foot rule he would measure the New Jerusalem, "the gates thereof, and the walls thereof," and apportion lots in it to those who believed in him, and obeyed the Spirit of Truth which came from him, its trumpet. His golden key would unlock the gates of paradise. Possibly Matthias was imitating John of Leyden, who in the sixteenth century played a conspicuous part in the Munster Anabaptist movement.

Robert Matthews, as Matthias was called before he assumed his new name, declared, after going to Albany in 1830, that the city would be destroyed, and he warned the inhabitants to escape. He himself left the city, but the threatened destruction did not take place. He next made a grand apostolic tour, visited communities as far west as the Ozark mountains and returned by way of Mississippi, Tennesee, and the Cherokee country in Georgia. He declared the earth and everything on it belonged to him, and accordingly prepared to build the New Jerusalem. One of the leading plate-makers in New York was employed to make a complete table set of silver with the lion of Judah as a crest. The sword which he carried was, he said, the Sword of Gideon; however, it bore the motto *E Pluribus Unum,* which was stamped on swords used in the United States Army at the time, and probably had other than divine origin. Matthias' teachings contained such sentiments as: "They who teach women are of the wicked. The communion is all nonsense; so is prayer. Eating a nip of bread and drinking a little wine won't do any good. . . . Everything that has the smell of woman will be destroyed. Woman is the cap-sheaf of the abomination of desolation—full of all deviltry. In a short time the world will take fire and dissolve—it is combustible already. . . . When you see anyone wring the neck of a fowl, instead of cutting off its head, he had not got the Holy Ghost." When he condescended to walk, he required his friends to follow him at a respectful distance. "His great height, his long wavy hair, his coarse curly beard and mustaches, and his green coat, figured vest and black pantaloons, with a sash of crimson silk around his waist, made him one of the most striking figures in the New York of the early thirties." Friends of another disciple, however, had Matthias committed to the Bellevue Hospital for the Insane. A relative secured his release from Bellevue, and he returned to the household of a patron named Pierson. In March, 1833, Pierson claimed that he had received from the Lord instructions to give no more money to Matthias. The messiah then went to live with another family, the Folgers. Soon he acknowledged an alliance between himself and Mrs. Folger, and announced that from this union was to be born a holy son. When the child was born, however, it was a girl. Matthias was last heard of at the house of Joseph Smith, leader of the Mormons. He wore a pea-green coat and green pantaloons, and posed as Joshua. He informed Joseph Smith that "the silence spoken of by John the

Revelator, which is to be in heaven for the space of half an hour, is between 1830 and 1851, during which time the judgments of God will be poured out. After that time there will be peace." Finally Matthias confessed his identity. He preached to the Mormons, but Joseph Smith was not pleased with him and ejected him from his house. "His mind," said the Mormon leader, "was evidently filled with darkness. . . . I told him, that my God told me, that his god was a devil, and I could not keep him any longer, and he must depart. And so I, for once, cast out the devil in bodily shape, and I believe a murderer." Matthias' subsequent fate is not known.

About 1875, Mrs. Dora Beekman, daughter of a Congregational minister in Rockford, Illinois, declared herself the immortal reincarnation of Jesus Christ, and obtained many converts. Her followers built a church and gathered proselytes into their "heaven," as they called their headquarters near the town of Rockford. Mrs. Beekman professed immortality, but did not long survive her claim. After her death a convert, who had been a Methodist minister, was installed as bishop. He became the leader of the sect and declared that he incorporated the Christly essence. He was accepted by hundreds of followers, including the most prominent persons of the vicinity, who worshipped him as the risen Christ, Lord of Heaven, immortal maker and ruler of earth.

In 1888, one Patterson announced in Soddy, Tennessee, that Christ had come in the person of A. J. Brown, who had been Patterson's assistant. Later Brown disappeared and his followers stated that he had gone into the mountains to fast for forty days and nights. At the end of that time his followers gathered near the hills, and he suddenly appeared before them, clad in white, with his hands uplifted. The people rushed toward him, fell upon their knees, and kissed his feet. Many who were ill declared themselves healed by his touch.

More famous was John Alexander Dowie, who announced that he was Elijah the Restorer, foretold by Malachi, Saint Peter, and Jesus. If factional troubles had not interrupted his career, he would doubtless have declared himself the messiah, Son of God. At Zion, near Chicago, he founded a settlement over which for some time he was undisputed dictator. At one time his adherents numbered more than twenty thousand. He was ousted from the settlement on charges of immoral practices. The community has

in recent years been under the leadership of Wilbur Voliva, who, until his death in 1942, maintained that the earth is flat and that the sun travels around it.

Miss Janet May Bingham, of Seattle, Washington, has given us the following account of a recent self-announced messiah:

> About 1910 or 1911, a man living in Seattle, Washington, claimed to be the reincarnation of Christ. He was tall and fair, had long curly hair, and looked astonishingly like pictures of Christ. As far as I know, he made no particular attempt to preach a gospel or compel recognition—he said he was Christ and let it go at that. He seemed to be slightly lame, and used crutches. He had the appearance of a man recently recovered from a severe illness, and seemed very frail. When he met a little child he would stop, place his hand on its head, and speak to it. All the children seemed to like him, though they appeared somewhat abashed in his presence. He paid no particular attention to older children or to grown-ups. I do not think he was insane. He seemed honestly to believe he was Christ, and to try to live and act accordingly. I rather admired him—not that I ever so much as spoke to him—and he had a most beautifully serene expression that was irresistible.

In 1926 much interest was aroused in England, India, Australia, and the United States by the proclamation of Mrs. Annie Besant, leader of a sect of Theosophists, regarding the messiahship or, as she called it, "World Leadership," of Krishnamurti, a Hindu. Krishnamurti and his younger brother had been her legal wards. For a while there was some doubt which brother would be selected for the messiaship. After the younger brother had succumbed to tuberculosis in 1924, Krishnamurti was chosen as the embodiment of promises regarding the return of Christ and other world leaders. One Leadbeater, later ousted from the Theosophist cult, discovered for Krishnamurti a long ancestry, or series of reincarnations, in which were a number of important personages. He was received in London and later in several cities of the United States when he crossed the country en route to San Diego and to Sydney, New South Wales. At the latter place a reception was prepared for him by Leadbeater, who had organized a Theosophist cult in Australia. Krishnamurti was educated at Oxford and had enjoyed social life there as well as in Paris and on the Riviera. His predilection for tennis earned him the title of "messiah of the tennis flannels." He was a good looking lad who took his role sedately and calmly, and did not claim supernatural power.

* * *

The Negroes of the New World for the most part have remained indifferent to messianic movements initiated and supported by whites. However, they have been highly responsive to the claims of members of their own race. During slavery there was little possibility of such movements among them, but since emancipation numerous claimants to messiahship have arisen, particularly in densely settled Negro communities in the West Indies and in the Southern states.

In 1888, Miles Moss, a Negro preacher from Rochester, Kentucky, proclaimed himself the Moses delegated by the Angel Gabriel to lead his people back to Africa. Moss announced that it was the mission of his followers to evangelize Africa and bring it into the light of civilization. A sect known as the Wilderness Worshippers carried messianic excitement to a high pitch among Negroes along the Savannah River in Georgia and South Carolina in 1889 and 1890. One man after another proclaimed himself the Christ and promised miracles in confirmation of his claims. The first of these messiahs, a mulatto named Dupont Bell, promised his followers that the world would end on August 16, 1890. On this date all Negroes would become white and all white people would become black. It was prescribed that those who wished to ascend on this last day must purchase wings. Bell described himself as "Jesus Christ in person." His coming, he said, had been heralded by an earthquake two years previously, in fact, "that shaking was caused by my coming." His successor, Edward James, later alleged that the spirit of Christ resided in him.

After these two had in turn been committed to an insane asylum, Shadrach Walthour, as King Solomon, assumed leadership of the sect. The Children of the Wilderness, his catechism declared, go to heaven, and mockers turn "to 'gators, then to cooters, then to snakes, then to dogs, then to birds, then to fish, and then they come back to the people without color."

In the latter part of 1896 the Church of God and Saints of Christ was established by William S. Crowdy, formerly a railway cook, who claimed that he had received a revelation that he was "a prophet of God sent to the whole world." His followers believed he enjoyed direct communication with the Deity, uttered prophecies given to him by God, and performed miracles.

In 1915 a Negro preacher in southern Georgia claimed to be the messiah. He obtained a large following in several communi-

ties by healing the sick and saving the wicked. He charged a fee for these messianic services and was arrested for obtaining money under false pretenses. About this time another messiah organized a membership of the blessed near Atlanta and stated that on a designated day he would fly to the skies. On the appointed day, many Negroes gathered to witness the ascension, but the messiah did not come. He, too, was arrested for obtaining money under false pretenses.

Olivero, a West Indian Negro, gained prominence in the mountainous sections of Santo Domingo in 1913. He claimed supernatural power to heal the sick and perform other miracles. He operated until 1917, when the United States Marines captured him and ended his career. At about the same time another savior appeared in Haiti. Like many American Indian messiahs, he claimed invulnerability. This attribute and other alleged supernatural powers enabled him to foment several revolutions. He, too, was shot by the United States Marines.

Sometime before 1879 a Jamaica Negro named Woods lived in a "stone-hole"—probably a cave—in that island and became a prophet. A flood which he had predicted actually occurred. In December, 1888, he went to August Town, a suburb of Kingston, and threatened to inundate the place unless the people repented. He later addressed a large audience and promised to bring the Spirit to his auditors. A strong wind followed upon his words, and his hearers deemed the promise fulfilled. Soon thereafter he organized in August Town a church with twelve men and women as elders.

Woods' successor was Alexander Bedward, who, while in Colon, was directed to return to August Town. There Bedward baptized the Mona River and administered water from it as "medicine." He related that the Lord had declared to him: "Once I made water wine. Behold, now I make water medicine. And you have I ordained my Dispenser, Watcher, Shepherd, and Trumpeter."

After the death of Woods, in 1901, Bedward became the "Bishop" of the Church and assumed the title "Shepherd." In December, 1920, the faithful were exhorted to gather at his church for the Last Day. He predicted his ascent into heaven, the destruction of the white people, and the reign of his faith upon earth. Many followers in distant parts of the island sold their possessions,

moved to the central camp in August Town, and there awaited the appointed day. It was announced that the Bedward church would be the center of the New Jerusalem. Those who were then in the sacred enclosure, both whites and blacks, would be spared. Great excitement prevailed. On December 28, trains and steamers brought many Negroes of all ages to August Town. The native white people feared an uprising such as followed the preaching of the Negro Methodists in 1816. "Nobody could tell what the Negroes might do in their excited state," wrote Martha W. Beckwith. The following account of an interview with Bedward was written by Miss Beckwith:

> "I myself am Jesus Christ: I was crucified," he answered sharply when I hazarded an objection based on the teaching of Christ. The man had a grievance. Several times he had petitioned that his own pastors be licensed to perform the marriage ceremony. In this way marriage fees from members of his congregation would come into the hands of his own church instead of those of outsiders. This privilege had at length been definitely denied him and he had accordingly decided to bring the world to an end. He showed me his black hands and told me how, in the new Heaven and the new Earth, they were to be as white as my own. He was a large fine-looking Negro with the rapt brightness on his face of a visionary, clouded by the peevishness of tyranny. I looked into his face in vain for any hint of craft.

That Bedward was the most deluded member of the sect is suggested by events of the Last Days. On December 31 a woman was kept tied to a tree all day, learning to fly. He rewarded her unavailing efforts with the reproach that her faith was insufficient. On the morning of the day of ascension, the leader sat in the yard in full view of his followers who, dressed in their fast-day clothes of white, gathered about him. Hours passed and nothing unusual happened, whereupon Bedward informed his disciples that the celestial event had been postponed. Repeatedly he set other dates. Many remained faithful despite successive disappointments. In May, 1921, he made a public demonstration of his claims, but when he and his followers marched into Kingston he was arrested for vagrancy, sent to an insane asylum, and his devotees dispersed.

In 1919 the present writer visited the Ark of the Reverend J. E. Lewis, a Negro at San Pedro, California. Lewis had proposed to sail to Africa to save his brethren and was then engaged in building the Ark with his wife's assistance. Like its prototype, the Ark was unique within and without. It was made of stray planks, odd

pieces of lumber, barrel staves, and boards of every variety and size. The craft was eighty-five feet long, had a sixteen-foot beam, and drew two and a half feet of water. It weighed about a hundred and fifteen tons and was said to have cost approximately $30,000. It contained several holes in the hull below the waterline. If the shaky planking should fail, a Supreme Being would keep the water out of the boat. Mr. Lewis took the writer on board, showed him the rooms of the Ark, and explained to him his plans for reaching Africa. He would pilot his craft through the Panama Canal, cross the ocean, thread his way through the Suez Canal, and then reach Monrovia, on the coast of Liberia. Perhaps his seamanship surpassed his knowledge of geography. He stated that he would not need chart or compass but would obtain directions from a Higher Power. About fifty of his followers would accompany him. After he had been building the Ark for about two years, the Japanese who owned the land on which it rested obtained an injunction ordering its removal. When attempts to launch the Ark failed, it was abandoned.

The most extensive American Negro messianic movement is that of Father Divine of contemporary fame. In 1931 he attracted much attention through the revival meetings which he conducted at Sayville, Long Island, in the mission known as "heaven." In 1932 Father Divine was convicted on a charge of maintaining a public nuisance and sentenced to serve a year in jail and pay a fine of $500. Upon appeal, the decision was reversed in 1933. In 1935 Divine, then deified by thousands, was again hailed into court. In reply to the judge's question, "Are you God?" Divine replied: "No, I am not God, but millions of people think I am and I'd like them to believe it. Lots say I'm the devil." When the judge accused him of having taken a mother away from the child, the woman involved cried, "No, God is the mother. Father Divine is God. God is the mother. He is God, he is God, he is God."

In the 1935 May Day parade in New York City, the followers of Father Divine carried banners bearing such legends as "Father Divine is the lily of the valley," "Father Divine is the light of the world and the bright and shining star." A report of May 16, 1935, states that of eighteen followers of Father Divine taken to Bellevue Hospital for observation, sixteen had well-developed psychoses.

Among the people who came in July, 1935, to the Central Registration Bureau in New York City to register for absentee voting

were many followers of Father Divine who offered such names as "Joy Praise," "Truth Delight," "Sympathetic Heart," "Blessed Virgin." When the chief clerk demanded their real names, Father Divine replied: "If some of my followers have received names calld Kingdom names, and they did not have them from the beginning, they received them from their intuition and not from me. We are going to clean the city of sin and corruption with the help of ballots and politicians or without them. If we don't get what we want with ballots, we'll get it through mental telepathy, through the transmission of thought forces." The right of his followers to register as voters under the Kingdom names was later recognized.

On December 28, 1935, in Newark, New Jersey, three of Father Divine's followers, trapped by a fire, scorned rescue by human hands and died in the faith that Father Divine would save them. The trio refused to let themselves down to safety on a truck conveniently placed five feet below them. Instead of fleeing the flames, they merely shouted: "Peace, peace! It is truly wonderful, Father! Peace, peace, Father! You will save us, Father. You are God, Father, Father Divine is God, God, God."

By 1936, the Father Divine movement had centers, officially known as Kingdom Extensions, in many cities of the country. There were sixteen in New York City, and twenty-two in California, most of which were in Los Angeles or San Francisco. There were others in Richmond, Seattle, Fort Worth, Washington, D. C., Topeka, Minneapolis, and in scores of other cities. Many former followers of Aimee Semple McPherson and of Krishnamurti have joined the Father Divine sect. In 1937 there were Kingdom Extensions or converts in Canada, Alaska, England, Switzerland, and China.

In the spring of 1936 Father Divine was reported to be negotiating for the purchase of an airfield near New York City, so that he and his angels could fly to their heavenly colony in Ulster County, which then seemed destined to be the Promised Land. Up to that time he had made the trip in his blue Rolls-Royce. It was said that he had purchased several farms, a residence property in Kingston of nearly 600 acres, and probably would buy a brickyard at which his angels would work. All deeds to properties purchased by Father Divine are said to be recorded in the names of his followers; and his own name does not appear on the records. His faith in his followers seems equal to theirs in him. He and his

followers now have an estate on the Hudson, directly across the river from that of President Roosevelt, whom Father Divine considers a "good neighbor."

Father Divine, who formerly designated himself Devine, has revealed little of his own past. Two courts have accepted evidence that he is corporeally continuous with one George Baker, who grew up in the Negro quarter of Savannah, a community in which the Wilderness Worshippers once wielded influence. While residing in Savannah Baker announced himself "The Son of Righteousness," opened an unpretentious meeting-house, fervently preached the word of God, and boasted supernatural powers and the ability to perform miracles. He was arrested and placed in a chain gang. After six months of imprisonment at hard labor, he was released and driven from the area by whites who had set the time and place for him to prove, by walking on the surface of the Savannah River, that he was the reincarnation of Jesus Christ. He escaped, in the hold of a week-end excursion steamer, to Charleston, South Carolina, where he renewed his activities. However, when his Savannah exploits became known, he was forced to move on again, and went to Baltimore. He later became in turn "The Messenger," "Major Devine," "Reverend M. J. Devine," and finally, as the banner in his Harlem Heaven attests, "Father Divine, Dean of the Universe."

Father Divine preaches a simple creed. All good and all power are vested in one great Being. He does not claim to be omnipotent, but implies that no one else is. Faith and a good life are the only prerequisites to a share of earthly paradise, but the good life involves renunciation of worldly concerns and pleasures. All men and women are brothers and sisters. The sect indulges not in prayer but in praise; it practices not meditation but confession and simultaneous absolution of sins. Its only communion is celebrated in dinners over roast duck and sweet potatoes. Father Divine's followers do not read Scripture, for even without Scripture "it is truly wonderful; there are so many blessings you can't count them all."

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In the Far East the Christian messianic record is not extensive. The leader of the Taiping Rebellion, put down by General Charles George Gordon, was Hung-sui-suen, a messiah with decided political aspirations. A Chinese village school-teacher converted to

Christianity by an American Methodist missionary, he first claimed to be a prophet of God, then the Son of God; finally he called himself Tien Wang, Celestial King. He did not profess to be the Biblical Christ incarnate but was content to call himself a brother of Jesus. (It is surprising that only one other messiah, a South African Negro, has made this claim, for the claim does not deny Christ or God but merely amplifies the Holy Family.) Proselytes gathered about the Celestial King. His grudge against the government, occasioned by his failure to pass a state examination, ripened into rebellion against Manchu and mandarin rule. Attempts to suppress the movement failed. In 1850 the Taiping captured Nanking and made it their capital. Here Tien Wang lived in a splendid palace from which, with renewed zeal, he proclaimed the new gospel. He identified in the flesh the wife of God, Celestial Mother; the wife of Jesus, Celestial Daughter-in-law; and a Sister of Jesus. The last-mentioned was married to one of his lieutenants, who then became Celestial Son-in-law. The mission of the messiah was to root out demons and Manchus from the earth and establish Taiping, the reign of eternal peace. The sphere of his own activities was largely confined to the palace, which now housed thirty wives and a hundred concubines. He appointed kings, entitled Wang, and left the conduct of affairs to them. For more than a year his forces occupied Shanghai, and in 1859 they besieged Nanking. The war of 1860 distracted the attention of the Messiah's foes and gave him several months' respite; but in June, 1864, a victorious army led by General Gordon closed in upon Nanking. The Celestial King, perceiving the end of his mission, swallowed enough gold leaf to assure his speedy ascent to heaven.

In one of the several pamphlet poems which he issued, Tien Wang set forth the claim that he had been commissioned to enlighten the world regarding God and do for China what Christ had done for the Western world. The poem explained that the king of Hades envied Tien Wang and was malignant toward him. God, however, taught his son how to subdue Satan and Satan's imps. When Tien Wang had overcome them, he again ascended to heaven, where he received from God instructions to return to the world and complete his mission. God promised to be with him and to superintend everything. A passage in one of the poems declared:

The great God [in 1837]
Personally instructed him,
Gave him odes and documents,
And commended to him the true doctrine.
God also gave him a seal,
And conferred upon him a sword
Connected with authority
And majesty irresistible.
He bade him, together with his elder brother,
Namely Jesus,
To drive away impish fiends
With the cooperation of angels.

The doctrines of Taiping are succinctly expressed thus: "The Heavenly Father sits on the throne above. The Heavenly Brother Christ is the next honorable, sitting on the right of the Father, excelled by no man. By the Grace of the Father and Brother we sit on His left. United as One we reign. Disobey the Heavenly Will and you will be ground to pieces with a pestle."

Another Oriental messiah was Miyazaki, a Japanese who proclaimed his gospel in the streets of Tokyo in 1910. His messianic activities were ascribed to prevalent social and economic conditions. He had been a journalist and a *soshi*, "one of the turbulent class who suffer from too much education and too little to eat, and who are at the root of every disturbance." Over an imported frock coat he wore a sleeveless *haori* on which was inscribed, in Japanese characters, "Prophet, Buddha, Messiah." In a book, *My New Gospel*, he set forth his claims to be the messiah and the Buddha, "the consummation of all the prophecies since the beginning of the world." In all, he had about fifty followers. A Japanese pastor told the writer that he was in a Japanese Protestant church in Tokyo when Miyazaki arose and declared, "I am the messiah and the Christ."

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Chapter VI

MAHDI: MOHAMMEDAN MESSIAH

The Mohammedans awaited a messiah called mahdi—that is, guide or director—a divinely appointed leader whom they expected to redeem the world from sorrow and sin. It was believed that when he appeared injustice would vanish, happiness would prevail, and the law revealed to the Prophet would be restored. According to Paul Cassanova, Mohammed predicted the end of the world during his lifetime. His followers, seeking to reconcile this prediction with the faith, added revelations announcing the mortality of the Prophet and introduced the belief that Mohammed would return before the end of the world. This belief, he says, developed into expectation of the mahdi. The doctrine that Mohammed would return is, however, not in the *Koran* or in later eschatological tradition. C. Snouck Hurgronje considered Cassanova's theory no more plausible than the view that Mohammed never existed. Nevertheless, the people to whom Mohammed carried his religion probably expected a savior. After his death his followers refused to believe that he was dead, awaited his return, and—until rebuked by the Prophet's father-in-law—worshipped him as a god. Tradition attributed to Mohammed these words:

> The world will not come to an end until a man of my tribe and of my name shall be master of Arabia. . . . When you see black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorasan, then join them, for the Imam of God will be with the standards, whose name is al-Mahdi. . . . The mahdi will be descended from me, and he will be a man with an open countenance and a high nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice, even as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression, and he will reign over the earth seventy

years. . . . Quarrelling and disputation shall exist among men; then shall a man of the people of al-Madinah [Medina] come forth, and shall go forth from al-Madinah to Makkah [Mecca], and the people of Makkah shall make him the Imam. Then shall the ruler of Syria send an army against the mahdi, but the Syrian army shall perish by an earthquake near Bada, between al-Madinah and Makkah. And when the people shall see this the Abdal ["substitutes" or demi-gods through whom God continues the existence of mankind] will come from Syria, and also a multitude from al-Iraq.

Other traditions attributed to Mohammed the words: "There is no mahdi but Jesus," and, "O ye people, I am the prophet and Aly is my heir, and from us will descend Mahdi, the seal of the imams, who will conquer all religions and take vengeance on the wicked."

Mahdi, said Mukhtar, who seized Kuja in 685-686, could be distinguished by the following test: If one struck him with a sword, the weapon would not penetrated his flesh, and would not injure him. According to Ibn Majah, the Prophet said, "Certain persons shall come out of the East and prepare the way for the mahdi." The earliest recorded traditions did not associate the coming of mahdi with the end of all things; and the later traditions, in which this association appeared, were doubtless inspired by Jewish and Christian influences. Signs of the approaching advent of mahdi were found in any extraordinary event—the Morocco Sultan's capture of Timbuktu and its territory, civil war, pestilence, or famine. Ibn Khaldun's phrase, "the greatest mahdi," could be applied not only to those who would usher in the final catastrophe, but also to founders of new dynasties. The tenth-century *Book of Creation and History* by Mutahhar Tahir of Jerusalem cited a tradition that the Prophet had referred to the Christian Savior as the only expected mahdi. In 1220 a sovereign of the Al-Mohades Empire declared from the pulpit that Isa, son of Miriam (Jesus, son of Mary), was the only mahdi. Another view, recorded by Mutahhar, said the mahdi would be the son of a slave girl, have brown eyes, teeth of perfect whiteness, and a beauty-spot on the cheeks. Some declared he would be born in Medina and reared in Mecca; others said that he would sally forth from the fortress Alamut. Some said he could impress his seal in stone as easily as men impress a seal in wax. When the end of the world drew near, the Spirit of God or of Christ would reign, and animals would speak a human language. Christ would descend near the White Tower of Damascus and remain on earth for forty years or, according to some accounts, for twenty-four years. Malice and hatred would be laid aside and

the hearts of men would rejoice in peace and plenty. While Christ reigned, lions, camels, bears, and sheep would live together in amity, and a child would play unscathed with serpents—a concept obviously adopted from *Isaiah.*

The Sunnites, a Mohammedan sect, believed that at the end of the present world order a successor to Mohammed, guided by Allah, would arise among the Prophet's descendants. He would maintain revealed law as faithfully as did the first four Caliphs, and with God's help would make Islam victorious throughout the world. Eventually the chiliastic kingdom of the mahdi would be destroyed by Antichrist. Before the Resurrection, however, Jesus would reestablish the holy order. This phase of the belief contained elements from Shiite creed and from Christian eschatology.

The *Conquests of Islam,* published in Mecca in 1883 by the Sherif of that city, gave the following means of identifying the mahdi: He would be of the line of Fatima (that is, a descendant of the Prophet); he would be proclaimed against his will; he would not seek his proclamation or cause strife among the faithful to obtain it; and, until he was threatened with death, he would not yield to the insistence of his followers. He would be proclaimed in the Mosque of Mecca and not elsewhere. Only when strife existed after the death of a Khalifa would he appear; and he would not come or be proclaimed until there was no Khalifa over Mohammedans: "His advent shall coincide with that of Antichrist, after whom Jesus will descend and join the mahdi. Whosoever shall, of his own will, declare himself to be the mahdi and try to assert himself by force, is a pretender, such as have already appeared many times." The absence of any reference in the *Koran* to a mahdi made possible the development of conflicting traditions. Most mahdi have not been distinguished by these signs, but have been self-proclaimed. In Shiite popular belief the body of the Imam cast no shadow and was invulnerable. Invulnerability was attributed to the Prophet and also to numerous Marabouts, or Saints, especially in North Africa.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the prophet Sahih—who flourished in the first quarter of the second century A. H. among the Baggara, a tribe in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—claimed to be the "greatest mahdi, who should appear at the end of the world, and have for his companion Jesus, who would pray behind him." After a reign of forty-seven years, said Ibn Khaldun, he went to

the East, having promised to return in the days of his seventh successor. In the twelfth century, natives of this region expected his return.

In the latter part of the eighth century Hahim Ibn 'Abbas, or Al Mokana, "The Veiled," was regarded as divine. He was worshipped for centuries, despite the fact that during his lifetime his armies were defeated by the third Abbasid Caliph, whose name (a not uncommon one), was Mahdi. To enable his followers to recognize him, he promised to reappear in a subsequent reincarnation as a gray man riding a gray beast. In 778 he supported his claims to mahdiship by displays of jugglery which convinced the ignorant that he could perform miracles. For several successive nights he caused an appearance of the moon to rise from a well; hence his title, "Moon-maker." Some accounts of Al Mokana's activities were extravagant and it is difficult to unravel fact from fiction. According to tradition, a few months after he announced his messianic claims he mobilized a great army and held several strong fortresses. A large force was sent against him; he fled to a mountain castle, and there was besieged. Despairing of escape, he poisoned the garrison and his family, and immersed himself in a vessel of corrosive fluid that consumed all of his body except his hair. He wished to encourage the belief that he had ascended to Heaven, but a concubine, who hid when she saw these preparations, revealed the facts. Many followers, nevertheless, continued to believe in the divinity of Al Mokana. They wore white garments to show their hostility to the Abbasid Caliphs, whose uniform was black.

Carmations, a religio-political sect of Shiites which arose about the middle of the ninth century, produced many mahdis. According to their tenets, the Universal Reason and the Universal Soul manifested themselves in human form through many reincarnations. The last of these would be embodied in the mahdi, at whose appearance the end and fullness of human life would be realized. Many Jewish and Christian theologians and mystics estimated the time of the messiah's coming by examining sacred writings and manipulating letters and numbers. Similarly, Sufites and Shiites calculated the advent of the mahdi from cabalistic verses, passages from the *Koran*, and combinations of letters of the alphabet which supposedly had numerical values. In Judaism these "calculators of the end of time" were severely reproached; in Mohammedan-

ism, also, moderate Shiite orthodox authorities branded "time determiners" as liars and found in the utterances of Imam condemnation of such speculations. Definite promises of the coming of mahdi, it was held, led to disillusionment and despair, for reliable computation was impossible. The hidden Imam, though not in the flesh, can reveal his will to believers, and he alone is the "leader of the time."

An Egyptian Sufi, Abd al-Wahab al-Sha'saue, who died in 1565, stated that an older colleague, Hasan al-Iraki (*circa* 1522), declared that in his youth he had entertained the mahdi for a week under his own roof in Damascus and had been instructed by him in the Sufi devotions. Hasan was then one hundred and twenty-seven years of age. His colleague was certain that the mahdi had conferred this longevity upon him. Fifty years of his life were spent in leisurely journeys to China and India. Several stories still circulating at the present time describe the Imam's readiness to help those in danger or difficulty. According to one tale, a traveler attacked by robbers called on the Imam for aid. Immediately, a simple muleteer appeared; he delivered the traveler from the robbers, conducted him to a safe place, and then vanished. Another story relates that on the road to Mecca a pilgrim whose camel was sick fell behind the caravan. In vain he urged the beast along. The caravan left him behind, ignorant of the route and fearful of the perils of solitary travel. Suddenly a man on a white horse appeared; he lifted the pilgrim to a seat behind him and bore him swiftly toward Mecca, where he dropped him gently to the ground. When the pilgrim looked up, neither horse nor rider was to be seen.

A mahdi, Sa'id Muhammed Ibn Falah, was active in Iraq in 1436. In 1441-1442 he initiated a movement that lasted well into the seventeenth century. He sent a force of three thousand men against Wazit, a nearby town. When this enterprise failed, he captured Huweze. Subsequently the mahdi became a successful diplomat, formed political alliances, and founded a powerful house.

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In the Maghreb, Morocco, popular and sacred traditions declared that the mahdi would appear on Moroccan territory. Men claiming to be the reincarnation of the mahdi there have incited their followers to revolt against foreign rule. One of these revolts

led to the establishment of the Almohad kingdom in the Maghreb. Mudhen of Tlemcen proclaimed mahdiship in Morocco about the middle of the ninth century. In 851 he prohibited the cutting of hair or nails or the wearing of ornaments, claiming that an addition to or a subtraction from the natural person disparaged the Deity. He had many followers in Africa and Spain but was finally captured by the Ameer of Andalusia and crucified.

Abn Abdallah, founder of the Almohades Empire in the twelfth century, was the son of a lamplighter in the mosque of his native village. A man of much ability and unusual training, he studied in the schools of Cordova, England, and Cairo, where he displayed aptitude and zeal. After completing his education, he returned to his home among the tribesmen of Masmoudah in the district of Sus. Here his literary attainments earned him the respect of the simple and ignorant shepherds among whom he lived. He affected an air of mystery which impressed his credulous and highly imaginative countrymen, assumed the title Al-Mahdi, and audaciously and eloquently declaimed against the sins of degenerate Moslems. Practicing austere virtues and wearing scanty and coarse garments, his sole possessions were a staff and a leather-bottle. He depended upon alms and slept in courtyards of mosques, where, during the day, he passionately exhorted the wayward to repent. During his devotions, many gathered about him, hoping to benefit from his prayers. Among Al-Mahdi's first disciples was a youth of distinguished lineage and unusual personal attractions, Abd-al-Mumen. Al-Mahdi had distinctive talents for military and executive leadership. With a small band of followers he went to Morocco where, he said, the depravity of the people called for severe punishment by an outraged deity. His first public act was one of unparalleled audacity, well calculated to establish the sacredness of his mission. On a Friday of the festival of Ramadan, a crowd assembled in the principal mosque of the capital to await the Sultan. Before the royal cortege appeared, Al-Mahdi, emaciated and meanly clad, intoning in deep and solemn accents verses from the *Koran,* strode through the throng and seated himself, without ceremony, on the throne. Remonstrances from attendants produced no effect on the intruder. At the approach of the Sultan, the entire congregation rose and stood reverently in his presence. Al-Mahdi, however, did not rise, and in scathing words reproved the Sultan, warning him that if he

did not speedily correct his faults and the vices of his subjects, he and they would be visited with God's wrath.

After this demonstration, Al-Mahdi's religious authority was widely accepted. Soon the government was concerned about his activities. Officials feared his increasing popularity and the effect of his teachings on the masses. Some of the ministers advised that he be executed immediately. He had, however, confined himself to religious exhortation without claim to temporal sovereignty. The Sultan, therefore, merely expelled him from the capital. He went to Fez, and remained for some time in seclusion. Meanwhile, his influence increased. When, suddenly, he reappeared in the streets of Morocco he was enthusiastically welcomed. He denounced the public and private conduct of monarch and court, and gained political power. An army commanded by Abd-al-Mumen issued from the mountains and defeated the followers of the Sultan. Al-Mahdi, however, did not long survive his triumph. According to one account, he was overcome with excitement occasioned by the return of the soldiers with spoils and captives. He commissioned the faithful Abd-al-Mumen to complete the conquest and the reformation which he had begun, and died shortly afterwards.

In 936 Hameem proclaimed messiahship in Ghomara and won a strong following. He reduced the number of daily prayers from five to two, one at sunrise and one at sunset, and ordered that the prayer be accompanied by weeping and by three prostrations, during which the suppliant should hold his hand between his head and the floor. The prayer began with the words, "Deliver me from sin, O Thou who givest eyes to see the Universe. Deliver me from sin, O Thou who drewest Jonah from the stomach of the fish, and Moses from the flood." To the ordinary confession were appended the words: "And I believe in Hameem, and in his companion, Abn-Ikhlaf, and I believe in Tabia, aunt of Hameem." During the ten days of the fast of Ramadan and the ten of the feast of Shoowal, Hameem's followers fasted on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. A fine of three bullocks was imposed for breaking the Thursday fast, and of two bullocks for breaking the Tuesday fast. Hameem proclaimed that sows might be eaten, although the flesh of the pig had hitherto been taboo to Mohammedans. Eggs, the heads of animals, and certain other foods were proscribed. His influence soon waned, he was crucified, and his head was sent to Cordova.

Ibn Tumart assumed the title of mahdi in 1122. This was apparently to strengthen his political claims, for the belief was prevalent in North Africa that only a mahdi might usurp authority. A confederate, a learned man who posed as an ignoramus, performed the needed miracles: for example, he announced that during a dream he had memorized the *Koran.* Ibn Tumart was pious and devout, lived in squalid poverty on the coarsest fare, and wore rags. With great courage he excoriated those who transgressed the divine law. He followed God's commandments and sought to enforce strict obedience to them. When, because of this zeal, he was ill-used at Mecca, he went to Egypt. There he criticized affairs and men, and the government forced him to leave the country. From Cairo he went to Alexandria and thence by ship to Morocco. During the voyage he rebuked the crew for profanity, and obliged them to say their prayers at the regular hours and to read at each time of prayer a portion of the *Koran.* At Mahdiyyah he dwelt in a mosque by the roadside, sat at a window, and observed passersby. When he saw a musical instrument or a vessel of wine, he would rush out and destroy the offending object. Ibn Kallikan declared that Tumart's soul "preferred shedding the water of life [his own blood] to shedding the water of the face [doing a degrading act]." His moral uprightness and his piety doubtless increased his prestige, and the simplicity of his life was an asset. "He subsisted on what his sister earned by spinning. A small flat cake of bread each day with a little butter or oil sufficed him, nor did he abandon his simple food when he abounded in worldly wealth." He dressed plainly, was affable, inspired profound respect, and was difficult of access except to persons who came to complain of oppression.

Other mahdis crowd the pages of history. In the Muwahhadi Period (1140-1269) Mohammed Ibn-Hud assumed the title of mahdi and won a large following. During the rule of Abd El-Mumin in Spain (1130-1163), a mahdi in the western part of that then Mohammedan land was captured. When he confessed that he was merely "the false Dawn," he was pardoned and released. Soon after the middle of the twelfth century, Rashid-ad-Din Sinan announced himself as Imam, God incarnate, all-powerful mahdi; and in Morocco, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, Ibn Abi Amarah proclaimed himself the mahdi.

In 1589 a mahdi, Yahya Ibn Yahya, massacred many Jews and

Turks in the Maghreb. He sent his cousin and other emissaries to Egypt and then to Mecca to spread the news that a mahdi had arisen. At Tadjurah many joined these leaders, and Yahya became head of a large army dedicated to the overthrow of the Turks. After he had beseiged the town of Musrata for five days, the inhabitants rose against the Turks there and killed all of them, including the women and children. Yahya then summoned the members of the Jewish community and announced to them that unless they embraced Islam he would treat them as he had treated the Turks. The Jews embraced Islam and were instructed in the *Koran* by Mohammedan teachers. In nearby villages, however, Turks and hundreds of Jews were massacred. Finally the mahdi was killed and flayed, and his stuffed skin was sent to the Sultan.

* * *

Abn Mahalli proclaimed his messiahship in Spanish Morocco in 1612. His reputation for learning and sanctity spread widely, and visitors came to seek his advice. Usually he couched his statements in mystic words, but at times, laying aside his reserve, he declared that he was the true mahdi and that one day he would be Sultan. He wrote to leaders of nearby tribes and to town notables, bidding them abandon heretical practices and conform to the Sunnah, the traditions of Mohammedanism. Assuring his followers that bullets could not pierce their skins, he marched against his native town, defeated its governor, and entered in triumph. True to his boasts, he defeated the Sultan of Morocco and captured his capital. Then he lost interest in reforms and reveled in debasing pleasures.

During the Sabbathaian movement of the late seventeenth century, the Mohammedan world was stirred by the report among the Jews that the messiah had appeared. Some Mohammedans believed Sabbathai was the Deddjal, or Antichrist. A lunar eclipse was taken as a sign that the mahdi would now come. Forthwith a mahdi appeared, a son of a Kurdistan sheik, and commanded some thousands of Kurds. He was captured, and sent to the Sultan. When questioned, he renounced his claims. The Sultan was so pleased with the would-be mahdi, or so suspicious of him, that he retained him in his service as page. Thus the Sultan was served simultaneously by the Antichrist, Sabbathai Zvi, as doorkeeper, and by mahdi, as a valet. At the close of the century (1694) a mahdi declared himself in the mosque of Adrianople. When sum-

moned to appear before the *Kaimakan,* he lost faith in his mission and feigned madness. Upon regaining liberty, he reasserted his mahdist claims and was exiled to Lemnos.

In 1785 the Imam Mansur appeared in Abchasia as champion of Islam against Russian aggression, and soon had an army of a hundred thousand men. He preached asceticism and prohibited all luxuries, including coffee and tobacco, but introduced martial music, which inspired his followers. Many Christians in Mingrelia and Circassia adopted Mohammedanism and joined his ranks. At first he successfully attacked the Russians, but in 1787 he met with a severe reverse that cost him his leadership. He had worked in the interests of a mahdi, Imam Harith, of Bokhara, but the mahdi abandoned Mansur early in his career. Mansur, according to the report of a Turkish spy sent to obtain information about him, began life as a keeper of geese and was promoted to guardianship first of lambs and finally of sheep. Another account describes him as a Piedmontese monk sent to Asia by the College of Propaganda, who fell into disgrace because of leanings toward Islam. Frederick the Great expressed the opinion that the fate of the Porte depended upon Mansur's success. He and his former mahdi companion had been inspired by a prophecy in the traditions recorded by Abu Dawud: "There shall come forth from Transoxiania a man named al-Harith, whose vanguard shall be commanded by a man named Mansur, who shall prepare the way for the family of Mohammed, and it is incumbent upon all Moslems to obey and aid them."

On the eve of the French conquest of Egypt in 1799, a mahdi, supported by English and Turkish money, appeared in that province. He came from Tripoli, but said he had descended from Heaven to the desert, where only a few people witnessed the miracle. His body, though visible, was not material. Every day, at the hour of prayer, in the presence of the assembled people, he dipped his fingers in a bowl of milk and passed them across his lips. It was presumed that he took no other nourishment. At Damanour he and his followers surprised and slaughtered sixty men from the French navy. According to legend, he prevented the powder of the enemy from exploding and caused the balls from their guns to fall harmless before the true believers. Later, however, General Francois Joseph Lefebvre, who commanded the French troops, attacked with four hundred men and routed the

mahdi's forces. In his report to the Directorate, Napoleon said: "Assailed by a cloud of Arabs, he [Lefebvre] ranged his men in a square, and all day long he continued killing the madmen who threw themselves upon our cannon, unable to rid themselves of the delusion under which they labored. It was not till night that these fanatics, when they counted their dead (there were more than a thousand) and their wounded, began to understand that God no longer performs miracles." When the mahdi's followers protested at the number of dead and wounded, he remarked that only those were invulnerable who accepted the faith wholeheartedly. In a subsequent skirmish he himself was killed. Some followers who had great faith said he considered it better to fight from the vantage-point of Heaven from whence he had come and to which he had now gone. They expected his return. He did not come back, but the French army withdrew from Egypt and their departure convinced the mahdi's followers that his prayers had been answered.

In 1828 Mohammed ben A'mar ben Ahmed appeared in the Senegal and proclaimed himself the mahdi. Like Mohammed the Prophet, he revealed himself during the month of Ramadan. He was shut up in a cell for the insane, a treatment then provided for agitators. Twelve days later, during evening prayer, he left his cell and again announced his mission. Though beaten by the mayor, he emulated the Christian God by offering his infant son as sacrifice for the sins of his people, and this restored the faith of his partisans.

Twenty years later, in 1848, there was born in Dongalo, in the Sudan, the mahdi Mohammed Ahmed Ibn Seyyid Abdulla. For generations a belief had circulated among Mohammedans that in the latter part of the century a prophet would proclaim himself and gather under one standard the scattered forces of the Faithful. Thus the Mohammedan faith would be restored to its ancient prestige. Abdullah announced in 1881 that he was the mahdi foretold by Mohammed. To neighboring sheiks and fakirs he sent the message that he had a divine commission to reform Islam, establish universal equality, common law, religion and community of possessions; he promised to destroy all, Mohammedan or Christian, who refused to acknowledge him. He lived in a hole in the ground, grew thin from privations and fasting, and mourned continually over human corruption. The nearby Baggara, the most

powerful tribe in this region, venerated him as a saint and their veneration became adoration and worship when he announced mahdiship. His body bore prophetic marks. His arms were of unequal length, and his eyes were of different color—which, according to tradition, were characteristics of Mohammed the Prophet. His militancy had been shown in revolts against religious authority which gave him courage to formulate new religious and social laws and declare himself the expected mahdi. His doctrines met with success among those who had been oppressed by Turkish and Egyptian tax-gatherers and other officials. After he had thrice defeated Egyptian troops, regarded by the Sudanese as incomparably superior to their own forces, his claims received increased respect. Numerous miracles were credited to him. For a while his assurance that the bullets of the enemy became as drops of water when they struck the bodies of his followers seemed justified.

The first British expedition against the mahdi had a messianic tinge, for it seemed advisable to fight fire with fire and counter divine aid to the enemy by divine sanction of their own cause. Accordingly, when General "Chinese" Gordon arrived in Egypt to quell this mahdist uprising, the Khedive instructed him to undertake the divine mission of putting down a false mahdi and preparing the way for the true messiah. Gordon, who had coped successfully with the Taiping messianic uprising in China, attached supernatural sanction to his mission. A letter that he wrote on January 3, 1884, indicates the belief that he was chosen by God to liberate the lost Egyptian provinces. He quoted and applied to himself verses in the nineteenth chapter of *Isaiah:* "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, *and he shall send them a savior, and a great one, and he shall deliver them.*" Moncure D. Conway compared the tone of the British commander's diary to the sentiment one might expect to find in the diary of Peter the Hermit. Gordon's diary contained such passages as these: "I take this prophecy as my own. . . . And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the Land of Egypt." Conway wrote, "I reached the conclusion that if one scratches the Englishman with a Moslem spear he will find

a Crusader." The Sudanese followers of the mahdi returned the compliment by regarding Gordon as the Antichrist whom their mahdi would destroy.

The Turkish troops who attacked the mahdi's followers shared the superstition that the bullets fell from the bodies of the Mohammedans as harmlessly as rain drops. They therefore decided that they would be more successful if they used silver bullets made of coins, or even ordinary bullets pegged with ebony or copper. This equipment gave new courage to the Turkish soldiers, who believed these missiles capable of killing the devil himself. Armed with these deadly weapons, they renewed the attack with vigor and bravery, but Gordon and his forces were finally massacred at Khartoum.

The mahdi did not long survive Gordon. He died on June 12, 1885, a half-year after his triumph at Khartoum, and was succeeded by a pretender to the Caliphate, Abdullah el Taashi, usually called the Khalifa. The sect was disastrously defeated by Kitchener in 1898. After the fall of Khartoum, impressive religious services were held on the spot where Gordon died and the tomb of the mahdi was blown to pieces.

This outburst of mahdism in the Sudan was not an isolated phenomenon. Before 1881 several persons in Egypt had advanced claims to mahdiship. One was active in Upper Egypt, in the region adjacent to the Sudan. During the pilgrimage of 1882 a mahdi was expected in Mecca. Turkish police thwarted this expectation by informing municipal authorities that his appearance would lead to an unpleasant incident. With becoming discretion, the mahdi postponed his coming. In 1885 another mahdi, Muley Hassan Ali, disputed the claims of Mohammed Ahmed, who was, he said, the Deddjal, or Antichrist. He rode triumphantly into El-Obeid, but Ahmed's followers applied to him the odious title Antimahdi. He was mounted on a white horse and held in his hand a drawn sword, supposedly given him by Mohammed the Prophet, with which to kill Ahmed and drive the infidels out of Egypt. The Dervish of El-Obeid, prisoners, and adherents carrying drawn swords accompanied him. The people bowed down before him, kissed the ground, and invoked a blessing on him. Sheik Mahdi, leader of the Senussi, refused aid to the Sudanese mahdi and publicly denounced him as a liar and impostor. The founder of the order, which dated from 1837, was Senussi, a man of some

foresight, who married a woman of the tribe of Ali, and named his son El-Mahdi. Senussi's hopes centered on this son. When he had attained the prophetic age of forty, the Sultan wrote to him: "There is a great deal of talk about thee. Who art thou? If thou art the Mahdi, let us know, so that in the name of God we may aid thee to accomplish the divine mission which has been confided to thee." To this inquiry the mahdi prudently replied, "I am your servant; but I do not know what you mean."

In Ethiopia, where for centuries there had been Jewish and Christian influences, the Sudanese mahdist rising caused much stir. An old Ethiopian tradition declared that in the fullness of time a king of Solomon's line would be acknowledged in Ethiopia. He would be the greatest king on earth, and his power would embrace Ethiopia and Egypt. The infidels would be scourged out of Palestine and Jerusalem would be purged of defilers. In short, the messiah, Theodorus, would destroy all the inhabitants in the land and sacred city of the Jews. There appeared one who had been known as Kassai, who said his name was Theodorus. Great successes attended his army and he conquered many provinces. When the conquests of the Sudanese mahdi reached the borders of Ethiopia, Theodorus determined to advance on Omdurman and destroy mahdism. A prophecy current among Arabs declared that a king of Ethiopia would advance on Khartoum, his horsemen wading in blood; he would tie his horse to a lone tree standing on a hill near that city. When the Sudanese war broke out, belief in this prophecy almost precipitated a panic in Omdurman, but subsequent events failed to justify the apprehension. King John, as Theodorus was then called, was struck by a bullet and killed; his army was defeated, and his body fell into the hands of the exulting enemy.

The mahdi movement lingered long in the Sudan and nearby regions. It has been surmised that the Nuer prophets in the southern Sudan, who claimed to be descendants of the Sky-god and possessed miraculous curative powers, were inspired by the spread of mahdism from the northern Sudan. After the reconquest of the Sudan these powerful prophets who had been active about the time when Arab intrusion into Nuerland was at its height were the most respected and the most influential persons in Nuerland.

In 1908 Abd El-Kader, a Halowin Arab and ex-dervish who

claimed to be the prophet Issa (Jesus), led a rebellion in the Blue Nile province. He killed the Deputy Inspector of the province and the Egyptian *mamur,* but the revolt was suppressed and Issa was captured and hanged. In 1902 a Cairo journal declared that the introduction of security and justice in the Sudan, in place of the long reign of terror prevalent under Egyptian rule, had destroyed all traces of mahdism in that province. In African Mohammedan provinces, where there was a firm government, the appearance of mahdis had grown rarer with the years. Nevertheless, the mahdist cause was not dead. One writer has attributed the harvest of mahdis in Nigeria during the first decades of the present century to the Government's regulation of taxation, emancipation of slaves, and introduction of other reforms that ran counter to Moslem or native precedent. As a result of Mohammedan teaching, the distraught Negroes of Nigeria, under oppressive measures taken by the Protectorate of the province early in the present century, expected that a foreign power would abuse them for four years. Then their oppressors would be driven from the land. A dozen mahdis were active in the district of Sokoto from 1900 to 1905, and as many in other Nigerian provinces. In 1905 simultaneous revolts were led by mahdis in Saturu, Banchi, and Kontagara. The Government executed most of the leaders. A mahdi arose in Nigeria in 1907, but the situation was reported as "in general satisfactory"—meaning, presumably, satisfactory for the Government. In 1903, Mohammed el-Amin, a native of Tunis, proclaimed mahdiship and gained a following in Kordofan. He was captured by the Governor of the province and publicly executed at El-Obeid. In April, 1908, the Turks crushed a mahdist rebellion in Yemen, where many believed Abdallah had returned in the person of the pretender. During the First World War the belief prevailed in parts of the Turkish Empire that in 1936 a mahdi would establish Mohammedanism throughout the world and usher in the Golden Age.

According to Persian Mohammedan tradition, the twelfth Imam disappeared into a well in 940: he continued to live in Jabulka, and would reappear as the mahdi or Kaim. Four persons, transmitters of messages from the Imam to his faithful followers, were said to have continued in communication with the mahdi. Among the threatening messages, one stated that the Kaim would behead seventy thousand mullahs like so many dogs. The Bab

Sayyid—who was born in Shiraz, Persia, in 1819—announced when he was twenty-five years old the coming of a universal teacher through whom all nations would be united. This declaration, first made at Shiraz in 1844, was repeated at Mecca, before a hundred thousand people. Orthodox Mohammedans opposed Sayyid and his teachings. He was imprisoned for two years, and in 1850 was executed in the public square of Tabriz. Mirza Yaha, or Subbi-i-Ezel, "Morning of Eternity," nominated by the Bab as his successor, became head of the order. In 1850 the Persian followers of the Bab unsuccessfully attempted to capture the city of Yezd and tried, also unsuccessfully, to assassinate the Amir-i-Mizam. In Zanjan the chief mullah and other followers of the Bab seized the city, tortured to death all prisoners, defied a large Persian army, and declared they would soon possess the world. The fortress withstood siege through the entire summer, and fell only after the death of the commander. In 1852 Subbi-i-Ezel, the leader, fled the country. His half-brother, Baha Ullah, gradually assumed direction of the order but in 1868 the Turkish Government intervened and sent Baha Ullah, "Splendor of God," to Acre. Contemporary with Baha Ullah was at least one other claimant in Syria, "between ignorant block and mystical hypocrite, a religious dreamer at large," born a Christian, subsequently a Jewish convert, and finally an apostate Mohammedan. God's name, he said, was sculptured in Arabic between his eyebrows, and his dimples formed a triglyph which resembled the Arabic trace *Allah.* He announced that he would ride from the Damascus horse-market to his eternal glory, that all things would be fulfilled in him, and he would return to God.

Baha Ullah died in 1892 and was succeeded by his son, Abbas Effendi, called also Abdul Baha. Thereafter the sect became known as the Bahai. Baha, like Ghulam Ahmad Quadiani, in India, claimed to be the fulfillment of all messianic promises. He was "the Messiah for the Jews, God the Father, the World, and the Spirit for the Christians, Aurora or Shah Bahran for the Zoroastrians, the fifth Buddha for the Buddhists, reincarnated Krishna for the Brahmans, the Mahdi or the twelfth Iman or Husain for the Moslems." Bahaism adapted its claims and doctrines to the views prevailing in the land in which it sought to gain a foothold. The creed planted in America, for example, differed from that proclaimed in Persia. American Bahaists are said to regard Baha

as God the Father, and Abdul Baha Abbas Effendi as Jesus Christ, the Son of God. One writer termed the Bahai movement "a counterfeit of the Messiahship of Christ." Bahaists believe that "the promises and prophecies given in the Holy Scriptures have been fulfilled by the appearance of the Prince of the Universe, the great Baha Ullah and Abdul Baha."

Several of the accounts which described Abbas Effendi, the God incarnate, have been written by Americans. One enthusiast wrote from Washington, D. C., in 1899, "Without a doubt Abbas Effendi is the Messiah of this day and generation, and we need not look for another." A similar message from Washington testified:

> It seems to me a real Truth-seeker would know at a glance that He is the Master! Withal I must say He is the Most Wonderful Being I have ever met or expect to meet in this world. Though He does not seek to impress one at all, strength, power, purity, love, and holiness are radiated from His majestic, yet humble, personality, and the spiritual atmosphere which surrounds Him is indescribable. His ideas and sentiments are of the loftiest and most chaste character, while His great love and devotion for humanity surpasses everything I have ever before encountered. I believe in Him with all my heart and soul, and I hope all who call themselves Believers will concede to Him all the greatness, all the glory, and all the praise, for surely He is the Son of God—and "the Spirit of the Father abideth in Him."

Another American wrote that she was allowed to enter the special garden of the Manifestation and the one (according to Dr. Kheiralla) described in the prophecies thus: "The place of my throne is part on the water and part on the land, under a green tent that has neither ropes nor a center pole to sustain it." She exclaimed: "I assure you no one could describe this place, and 'tis foolish to try—to know, each must see for himself—therefore pray God earnestly that the blessing of coming here may soon be bestowed. There is no other place in the world worth seeing, and surely no other King worthy of homage."

He "quenches the thirst from the spring of life," states a "Declaration Addressed to Americans." He "heals the sick with the antidote of safety and confirms with a flood of grace from His Kingdom. He is of the greatest heirs to the apostles and saints, the Lord is His God and He is His dearest Son (Abdul-Baha)."

Such was the influence on some Western minds of the Persian

Syrian messiah, Abbas Effendi, whose doctrines were mystic and symbolic, but kindly, sincere, and charged with pious zeal.

Some Persian Christians who have adopted belief in the Imam have held that the last Imam was converted to the faith of the Gospels and that he and the prophet Elijah are the two witnesses referred to in *Revelations*. Persian kings of the Suffavean dynasty (Sophis or Sufis) called themselves "slaves of the country," that is, servants of the invisible and expected Imam. In the royal stables at Ispahan they kept two horses saddled and bridled, one for the twelfth Imam, when he should appear, and the other for Jesus, who they believed would accompany the Imam.

In an "Appeal to the Public," issued in 1908, the revolutionary party which sought to restore parliamentary government in Persia recalled "the clear and undisputed decision of the Ulema of the holy city of Nejef, according to which everyone who opposes the constitution is to be compared to him who draws the sword against the Imam of Time [that is, against the hidden Imam]—may Allah grant you the joy of his return!" The Ulema referred to states that "All zeal must be used to strengthen the constitution by means of holy war while at the same time holding the stirrups of the Imam of the age—may our life be his ransom." Anti-constitutionalists described this action of the Shah as "inspired by God and the Imam of the Age."

Indian mahdism has been closely interwoven with political aspirations. The Mogul Emperor Akbar called attention to points of similarity between himself and the Christian messiah: His birthday was on Sunday, which, according to tradition, was the birthday of Jesus. With his approval, his mother received the name Miriam-makani, that is, "of the household of Mary." He claimed power to perform miracles, cure disease, and cause rain to fall or to cease; and he allowed it to be said of him that he had spoken when a child in the cradle, a precocity attributed to Jesus. He was, withal, a priest-king. There was Christian influence, Mohammedan inspiration, and political aspiration in this Mogul pretension.

Some Mohammedan sects in India—called Mahdawis, or Ghair Mahdi'm, that is, "not expected mahdi"—believe that the mahdi has already come, and they expect no other. For example, the Zikris, in the district of Kirman, Baluchistan, say that about the end of the fifteenth century the mahdi appeared in the person of Mir Sayyid Mohammed, of Jaunpur, who was expelled from India

and, after many wanderings, died in the valley of Helmend in 1505. He initiated the mahdist movement which became the Mahdawis sect. The movement was furthered by his disciple and pupil, Miyan Abdallah, an Afghan, who made a pilgrimage to Mecca and upon his return claimed to be the mahdi and acted accordingly. His subsequent conduct probably was modeled upon that of Ibn Tumart. He lived in Biana, in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men, near a tank from which he threw water on his head. At time of prayer he brought together laborers who passed that way, and formed them into an assembly for prayer. He encouraged those reluctant to join the meeting by giving them a few coins. Under his inspiration mahdism became a way of life rather than a political program. The religious services of Mahdawis were similar to those of other Mohammedan Sufi sects.

Miyan Abdallah's example was followed by Sheik 'Ala'i, who had distinguished himself by arrogance and ambition. He founded a communal society and bestowed upon the poor all his worldly possessions, including his books. Three hundred householders abandoned all sources of gain from trade, agriculture, or skilled labor, and joined the community. "Gifts received from Providence" they divided justly, apportioning to each his share. Members of the community spent much time in prayer. Sheik 'Ala'i preached twice daily, after prayer. So eloquent were his expositions of the *Koran* that almost every one who heard him withdrew from earthly occupation, abandoned family and relatives, and joined the society, accepted poverty, hunger, and religious warfare. Many, in their extreme faith in the providence of God, thought it their duty at nightfall to empty their cooking vessels of salt, flour, and water, and to leave them upside down so as to keep no food for the morrow. "Each day brings new provisions," the faithful asserted.

Indian mahdism has been largely a syncretism of Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindu influences. The merging is exemplified by the mahdi who appeared in 1810 in the town of Bodhan, about fifteen miles from Surat. He invited the British Governor to join the fold. "This fakir," he said, "is now come down from the fourth sky with four bodies, combining Adam (on whom be peace!), Essah, the son of Mariama [Jesus, the Son of Mary], and Ahmud (on whom be peace!)."

After the death in 1831 of the prophet Sayyid Ahmad, during an attack against the British in the Punjab, the belief prevailed that he had merely disappeared and would return. He had been snatched away in the thick of the battle in a cloud of dust, said his followers, and had foretold his disappearance. Furthermore, he had held the view that God had withdrawn from a faint-hearted generation. The belief was current that when Indian Mohammedans should join in singleness of purpose in a Holy War against the English infidels, the prophet would return and lead them to victory. The prophet had prayed that his grave be hidden from his disciples, so that no impious worship could be paid to his bones. His followers justified and fortified their faith in his return by citing ample precedent: The Prophet Yunis (Jonah) had disappeared and had hidden in the belly of a large fish; Moses became invisible when he ascended Mount Sinai to receive the Old Testament; Zulkarnain, the great leader who had imprisoned Gog and Magog, had disappeared under similar circumstances.

Shortly after the middle of the century Hakim Singh, who lived in the Punjab in extreme filth and dirt, proclaimed himself the reincarnation of Jesus. In keeping with his pretensions, he offered to baptize the missionaries who disputed his claims. He preached lofty morality and professed to work miracles. To his followers he promised, among other things, the destruction of the British Government, which to him as to them seemed responsible for their ills. This son of a carpenter had considerable ability and gradually acquired a reputation for extreme sanctity and miraculous powers. His influence and the number of his followers increased, and his teaching became more political in content. In 1872 he led a serious outbreak against the British in the Punjab.

Contemporary with Hakim Singh was a more remarkable mahdi-messiah, Mirzam Ghulum Ahmad (1838-1908). The movement initiated by him was a reaction against the striking success of a Christian mission in the Central Punjab, and against the impetus of the religious order established by the Kayananda. Ahmad claimed that he was the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the Second Coming, but was not subsidiary to Jesus. Indeed, he declared himself superior to the Nazarene in both personality and doctrine. With considerable acumen he indicated in detail the parallelism between his times and those in which Jesus lived. Indians under British rule had much the same subordinate

political position as Jews under Roman rule; and the corruptions in India in the nineteenth century were similar to those in Palestine in the first century of the Christian era.

It is said that he predicted the death of one hundred and twenty-one individuals, including Pandit Lekh Raui, his chief opponent in the Arya Samaj, who was assassinated. He prophesied the death of his principal Christian antagonist, Deputy Abdullah Atham who, however, survived his allotted span of fifteen months. He also predicted that he would witness the death of his rival in America, John Alexander Prophet Elijah Dowie, whom he called an impostor. To the great satisfaction of his followers this prediction was fulfilled. His adherents thought he justified the boast: "I shall be guilty of concealing the truth if I do not assert that the prophecies which God Almighty has granted me are of a far better quality in clearness, force, and truth than the ambiguous predictions of Jesus." His followers were also promised freedom from the pestilence if they refused to be inoculated. His prophecies proved so mischievous that on February 24, 1899, the Government ordered him to cease the practice, and he acquiesced.

Ahmad claimed to have found on the Khanjar road in Shringjar, near Kashmir, the true grave of Jesus, which was also the grave of Jus-Asaf, an otherwise unknown saint, probably of Buddhist origin. Jesus, declared Ahmad, had escaped from his prosecutors in Jerusalem and wandered to the east. Ahmad's followers accepted him as the messiah of the seventh millennium "in the spirit and power" of Jesus, and also as the Mohammedan mahdi. To Hindus he was an avatar. He first announced his mission in 1880, but had no following until 1889.

In declaring his mission a peaceful one, he departed from orthodox Mohammedan tradition. The mahdi of orthodox Mohammedanism is a warrior, and fights unbelief with the sword. Among Shiites "the Man of the Sword" is one of his titles. Ahmad, however, proclaimed a peaceful mission that would abolish the necessity for the Jehad, or Holy War. He advocated peace and tolerance, stressed the Mohammedan code of ethics, and denounced fanaticism. Regeneration of mankind, he taught, would be accomplished through a firmer belief in God and release from the bonds of sin. In 1907 the community had nearly 70,000 members, mainly among the Moslem population which had come under European influence. Ahmad used modern methods. He united

propaganda with an educational campaign that included instruction in Hebrew. He wrote voluminously, and expounded his views in more than sixty theological works in Arabic and Urdu. In a monthly periodical, *Review of Religions*, he addressed the Western World. He died in Lahore in 1908 and was buried at his birthplace, Kadhian, some seventy miles from Lahore. On his tomb is the inscription, "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Promised One." His will provided that after his death the community should choose his successor, and that the line should be thus continued until, at the end of time, the finally appointed mahdi would come from this succession. According to a pamphlet entitled "Condition of Initiation," issued at Lahore in 1919:

> The Ahmadiya movement is a body of Moslems that having organized the Promised Messiah as a means of guidance have accepted the true Islam which was given to the world through our Lord Mohammed and who have accepted all the claims of the last messenger of God, *viz.*, the Promised Messiah. Hence the obligations of the Ahmadis are the same as have been fixed by the Holy Koran for a Moslem and which have been sanctioned by the usage and practice of our Lord Mohammed and his companions. Hence acting upon the laws of the Koran, [adherence to] the practices and sayings of the Prophet is a distinct duty of every Ahmadi. But since Islam considers the proclamation of the truth as one of the important duties of a Moslem and it has been considered as one of the distinguished features of the Moslem that they ask the people to do good and prohibit from doing evil—a duty the performance of which made the Moslems so successful in the beginning, hence the Promised Messiah has laid so much stress upon this point, and has made it obligatory for the members of the community that they should send a part of their income to Tadiau for this purpose. This money is spent for the propagation of Islam on the lines fixed by the Promised Messiah.

The Wahabi movement, which spread from the rebel camp of Sittana to Lower Bengal, was based on belief in the advent of the mahdi and on ardent political aspirations. Hope in the coming of the mahdi was welded into a formidable weapon of attack. This was especially the case on the Indian northwest frontier. Mohammedans believed that when the *Jehad*, or Holy War, should be proclaimed, the battalions of the infidel would become powerless when confronted with a handful of the Ghazis, the soldiers of the faith. This belief paved the way for the Mad Mullah, a worker of miracles, who led an attack against the British in Malakand in 1897. Visitors to his house brought small offerings of food or money. In return he gave them a little rice. His stores were con-

tinually replenished and he claimed to have fed thousands. He asserted that he was invisible at night, and those who looked into his room said they saw no one. Finally he declared he would destroy the infidels; he desired no assistance, for thus no one would share the honor with him. The heavens would open and an army would descend. The more he protested that he wanted no followers, the faster they came to him. He promised them invulnerability, and his agents added other inducements. He and his followers were defeated by the British; but, as Winston Churchill wrote in his *Story of the Malakand Field Force:* "Even after the fighting—when the tribesmen reeled back from the terrible foe they had assailed, leaving a quarter of their number on the field—the faith of the survivors was unshaken. Only those who had doubted had perished, said the Mullah, and displayed a bruise which was, he informed them, the sole effect of a twelve-pound shrapnel on his sacred person."

Chapter VII

MESSIAHS IN PRELITERATE CULTURES

In many preliterate cultures the belief in the return of a hero antedated Christian influence and the concept furnished a background for messianic aspiration. The immediate stimulus to messianism was usually a desire to vanquish the conquerors and to restore the land to the natives. Sometimes there was also a desire to resurrect the dead. Tribal or cultural disintegration was often a pre-requisite to dynamic messianism and to the appearance of messiahs.

* * *

South American messianic movements were mentioned in early records of that continent. In 1579 Oberá, a baptized Guaraní Indian, announced himself the only son of God the Father, born of an immaculate virgin. He advocated continual dancing and singing, to the neglect of sowing and harvesting. In 1778 and 1779 a formidable messianic movement arose among the Chiriguano, in the Amazon-Orinoco region. A tribal prophet traversed the region, accompanied by a woman described as the Holy Virgin. Preaching in Spanish and the native language, he claimed power to bring a shower of fire, to transform men into stones, and to destroy towns, cattle, and unbelievers. He had a large following. The Indians at the mission of Abapó flocked excitedly toward Mazabi, the center of the cult. But dissension arose and the cult was short-lived. In 1892 the peace of the Chiriguano was again broken. A young man who assumed the title *Tunpa* (God), se-

cluded himself in a hut adorned with red cloth. Those who entered his presence knelt before him and were allowed to communicate with him only through intermediaries. His followers put to flight muleteers sent against them; they were assured that the weapons used against them would turn into water and that they would easily exterminate their attackers (an assurance similar to that of some Mohammedan mahdi discussed previously).

About the middle of the nineteenth century a Venezuelan Indian, Venancio, claimed to be the second Christ and won many adherents. Because of the wild dances and other disturbances at their feasts soldiers were dispatched against them. The messiah and his followers were scattered and many of their villages were destroyed. Soon a deserter, Baxillio Melgueiro, proclaimed himself the messiah and emulated Venancio. In 1880 a medicine-man of the Arapaso, a Betoyan tribe on the central Caiary-Uaupes, announced himself as Vincente Christo. He claimed to converse with spirits of the dead and with *Tupana*, the Christian God. His personality and message converted many. He bade his followers drive out the white men, for they had deceived the Indians. Whites on the Rio Negro—fearing an uprising of the Indians—seized the messiah, beat him, and imprisoned him for a few days at Barcellos. His authority and power dwindled and his adherents fell away. Several years later, however, Christo had imitators on the Caiary. About the same time Anizetto proclaimed himself the second Christ and secured many followers among the Icana tribes.

The first Indian of North America known to have proclaimed messiahship was Popé, a Tewa medicine man, whose tribal culture had been submerged by the Spaniards. In 1675 he was either the leader of a group which visited the Spanish Governor at Santa Fé to demand the release of prisoners, or the instigator of a revolt among the prisoners. From Taos pueblo he preached independence from Spanish control and restoration of the old Hopi culture. From his exhortation came a plot to murder or to drive from the country the twenty-four hundred Spanish settlers and priests. Tradition relates that while Popé was on a journey to the magic lagoon of Shipapu, to the north, whence ancestors of the Hopi had come and whither the souls of their dead go, the Hopi ancestral spirits gave him power to throw off the foreign yoke. Into the secret subterranean chamber where the prophet stood came, in shapes of fire, the ancestral spirits from Shipapu. They

told him to prepare knotted strings of yucca and send one string to each pueblo, along with the message to revolt. One knot was to be untied each day; the day on which the last knot was untied would be the day of revolt. As a result, the Indians expelled the Spaniards, and Popé sought to restore the old regime. Those who had been baptized into the Christian faith were washed with yucca suds, the characteristic Hopi purification rite. Use of the Spanish language or Spanish baptismal names was forbidden. The churches were burned and all Christian objects and symbols were destroyed. Everything possible was done to restore the old order. Popé, dressed in ceremonial robes, was received with honor in all the pueblos; but later the Tewa grew tired of his lordly airs and deposed him.

In the eighteenth century a Delaware prophet received through a vision the promise of help from a higher power, which would enable the Indians to expel European settlers and reclaim tribal lands. The Indians were exhorted to discard customs adopted from the whites and to resume their old way of life. The doctrine spread rapidly through many tribes. At a council held in Detroit in April 1763, presided over by Pontiac, the Indians decided to attack the settlers.

Lalawethika ("Rattle"), a Shawnee and twin brother of Tecumseh, who fought against General William Henry Harrison on the eve of the War of 1812, was also intent upon restoring the old Indian culture. He had been more distinguished for alcoholic than religious intoxication, but a trance profoundly changed his personality. When he was about thirty years of age, while lighting his pipe in his cabin, he fell back apparently lifeless and remained motionless until friends assembled for the funeral. He then revived and announced that he had been wandering in the spirit world. In November, 1805, he assembled his tribesmen and their allies at their ancient capital, Wapokoneta, in Ohio, and proclaimed himself bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. He said that he had been translated to the spirit world where he had lifted the veil of past and future. There he had seen the misery of evildoers and had learned of the happiness awaiting those who followed the precepts of the Indian god. He denounced witchcraft and "medicine" juggleries, and warned his hearers that those who indulged in these things would be denied future happiness. The firewater of the whites was poisonous and accursed, and

its users would, after death, be tormented with fire; flames would issue from their mouths. The young must cherish and respect the aged and infirm. Lalawethika further proclaimed that, in conformity with the custom of their ancestors, property should be held in common. Indian women should not marry whites and the two races should remain distinct. The white man's dress, flint, and steel should be discarded and the Indian buckskin and firestick used in their stead. Everything acquired from the white foe should be abandoned. Indians should revive their own customs, and they would then merit divine favor and receive the happiness which their fathers enjoyed before the coming of the whites. To demonstrate his divine mission, he announced that he had been given power to cure all diseases and to stay death in sickness and on the battlefield. The announcement produced considerable excitement and inspired a crusade against those suspected of practicing witchcraft. Lalawethika changed his name to Tenskwatawa ("The Open Door"), descriptive of the new way of life which he proclaimed. After a successful prediction of an eclipse of the sun in the summer of 1806, he was widely accepted as a true prophet and messenger of the Master of Life. Missionaries preached the new doctrines to tribes as distant as the Seminole and the Blackfoot. Under the influence of Lalawethika, an Ojibwa began preaching in 1808. He counseled his followers to give up the vicious habits acquired from whites, particularly drunkenness. For a while his messages received considerable respect and drunkenness disappeared. Soon, however, flint and steel were used again, women and children were beaten, and the Ojibwa's teachings were ignored.

Tecumseh, twin brother of the Prophet, carried the message of insurrection to the Creek Indians in 1811. When he visited the Creek town of Tuckabatchi, near Montgomery, Alabama, he claimed a mission from the Great Spirit. He said that upon his arrival in Detroit he would strike the ground with his foot and shake down every house in Tuckabatchi. On the designated day the New Madrid earthquake shook the earth and toppled the Creek houses to the ground. After this supernatural manifestation, many of the Creeks took up arms to fight in Tecumseh's cause.

From the Creeks the agitation passed to the Cherokees. In upper Georgia a follower declared that on a specified day there would be a terrific storm. A mighty wind, bringing hailstones as large as hominy-mortars, would destroy all except believers who

had previously taken refuge on the summits of the Great Smoky Mountains. In Alabama and Georgia many Cherokee abandoned beehives, orchards and slaves, and marched to the mountains of Carolina, where they awaited the appointed day. The predicted events did not occur; but the converts believed that they had merely been postponed.

The Winnebago told of a Shawnee Prophet who was sent by the Creator to induce the Indians to restore the discarded old customs. He forgot much of the message entrusted to him, for the devil deceived him and led him astray. The devil told him, according to legend, that he would go to Heaven and that he could not be killed. Once, however, when he was drunk a number of people attacked him and almost ended his earthly career. The creator then called him back and reproached him for his drunkenesses.

In 1819 Kanakuk, a Kickapoo, exhorted his people not to surrender to the whites the Kickapoo territory, which comprised about half the state of Illinois. He promised that if his tribesmen would remain on their land, abandon native superstitions, refrain from quarrelling, obey the laws of the white man, and forego whiskey, they would inherit a land plentiful in game and devoid of enemies. He displayed a chart of the path leading through fire and water to the happy hunting-ground and he gave his followers prayer-sticks engraved with religious symbols. The Kickapoo in Illinois and many Potowatomi in Michigan accepted Kanakuk's leadership. When the Kickapoo were removed to Kansas, he accompanied them, and until his death in 1852 he had considerable influence over the band.

Tavibo ("White Man"), a Paiute chief who died in Nevada in 1870, attained fame as a medicine man and sought to protect his tribe against the whites who were driving them out of the country. After a solitary sojourn in the mountains, he announced a revelation to the effect that the earth would swallow the whites, and that the Indians would be left undisturbed to enjoy their possessions. The Paiute were incredulous about an earthquake which would swallow the whites and spare the Indians; consequently he learned in a second vision that all the people would be engulfed, but the Indians would return to earth and forever enjoy abundance of game, fish, and piñon nuts. The revised doctrine was favorably received. Devotees came from tribes in Nevada, Idaho, and Ore-

gon. When, finally, their faith in the fulfillment of the prophecy began to wane, Tavibo announced that only those who accepted the prophecy would be resurrected; sceptics and whites would remain buried.

Tavibo's message reached the Klamath of southern Oregon and several tribes in northern California. The Klamath received the news, apparently directly from the Paiute, that their culture hero, Kumukumps, would come from the south, and that the dead would return to the land of the living. The Modoc, of northern California, in their outbreak against the white settlers were inspired in part by the belief that soon their dead would be restored to life and would aid them. The whites would be swallowed by the earth. This faith flourished in almost identical form among the Yurok, Karok, and Shasta—in short, among practically all northern California tribes, as far south as the Lower Russian River and the American River, and possibly beyond. A crow, it was said, informed the Shasta that deceased members of the tribe were hovering about the peak of Mount Shasta, awaiting a favorable moment to descend. Karok prophets announced that myriads of pigmies, embodied souls of deceased members of the tribe, would come from the east and drive out the whites. The Yurok declared that the world would end and dead tribesmen would return. Converts would survive, but unbelievers would turn to stone. This doctrine was current also among the Klamath. In this new order there would be no sex. In preparation for the new era men and women must bathe together without shame, and husbands and wives must dissolve marital ties. To facilitate the resurrection, planks were removed from graves. Similar views prevailed among the Pomo. In that tribe, however, the movement seems to have been an attempt to insure extermination of the white intruders rather than to revive Indian culture.

In 1881 in Southern Arizona an Apache medicine man, Nakaidoklini, claimed supernatural power to raise the dead and to commune with spirits. He prophesied that the whites would soon be driven from the land of the Apache. In the same year a young Kiowa ("Keeps-his-name-always") made medicine to bring back the buffalo, which, tradition said, lived beyond the horizon in caves under the earth and would eventually return. With their return, tribal property and freedom also would be restored. To bring back the buffalo he set up a pole with a buffalo-skin at the top,

and dressed himself in a red robe trimmed with rows of eagle feathers. He stood in front of his tipi, summoned the people, and told them he had been directed in a dream to restore the buffalo. They would return if the people scrupulously observed his prayers and ceremonies. His hearers believed, promised strict obedience, and liberally gave blankets and other property to their benefactor.

"Keep-his-name-always" died about a year later, but in 1887 Pa-ingya ("In-the-middle") claimed to be heir to his supernatural powers. Pa-ingya amplified the earlier doctrine by asserting that, as the whites were responsible for the disappearance of the buffalo, the whites would be destroyed by the gods, and the buffalo would then return. He claimed invulnerability and power to kill with a look those who offended him. The tribe was directed to assemble on Elk Creek. There, after four days, he would bring down fire from heaven which would destroy the agency, the schools, the whites, and the Indian unbelievers. Furthermore, he predicted that enemy troops would wither before his glance, and that their bullets would not injure the Indians. Every Kiowa camp was abandoned. Parents took their children from the schools and everyone fled to Elk Creek. There they patiently awaited the promised day, which passed uneventfully. Sadly they returned to the camp and the white man's rations.

In 1889 Wovoka ("Cutter"), or Jack Wilson, possibly a son of the Paiute prophet Tavibo, announced among the Paiute a mission similar to that proclaimed by Tavibo two decades earlier. Toward the end of 1888 an eclipse had spread alarm among tribesmen. Wovoka, who had been delirious with fever, thereupon announced that he had been taken up into the spirit world and had received direct revelation from the Paiute god. A new dispensation was at hand: Indians would recover their tribal lands and be reunited with departed friends. He had been given songs and had been instructed in dances which the people were to perform for the day of restoration. Tribes north and northwest of the Paiute rejected Wovoka's doctrine; perhaps they had been thoroughly disillusioned by the failure of the earlier prediction and had developed immunity to messianic prophecies. The new doctrine was unsuccessful also among tribes south and southeast of the Paiute. The Hopi listened with little interest; their culture was safely entrenched and they suffered no oppression from whites. The Navaho were equally sceptical. The tribe at that time con-

sisted of some sixteen thousand people, rich in herds, flocks, and silver, and the message made no impression on them. The Paiute missionaries preached and prophesied to the Navaho for a considerable time, but were laughed at and the prophecies scorned. "Much more keenly in evil days," said Lucretius, "do men turn their minds to religion."

In 1870 most Plains tribes had not yet experienced any great change from the old order. By 1880, however, the buffalo were gone, Indians were segregated on reservations, forced to live on white men's rations, and exhorted to till the soil. Protesting against the new way of life, they eagerly accepted the message that the old order would be restored. "If we dance," said a Dakota convert, "our Good Spirit will protect us, and when all dancers are sincere, the bullets of the soldiers will harmlessly fall to the ground without power to hurt." Thus spread the Ghost Dance movement.

East of the Rocky Mountains it was held that believers would enjoy a deep sleep, during which the promised transformations would take place. The Wyoming Shoshoni said the slumber would last four days. On the fifth day believers would open their eyes on a new earth on which white and red men would dwell together in eternal peace. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other tribes in Oklahoma believed that the new land, with resurrected Indians and abundant game, would slide from the west over the surface of the earth. The sacred dance feathers which the Indians would wear in their hair would carry them upward to this new land. A four-day period of unconsciousness would then ensue; on the fifth day the Indians would awake amid friends and familiar surroundings.

A century ago, in the Northwest Coast area some tribes believed that important changes were impending and that their living conditions would be substantially improved. On the Columbia River an Indian woman decided to become a warrior, and adopted male attire. Armed with gun, bow, and arrows, and mounted on a horse, she joined a war party. Her courage, says Sir John Franklin, attracted "general regard, which was so much heightened by her subsequent feats of bravery, that many young men put themselves under her command. Their example was soon generally followed, and at length, she became the principal leader of the tribe, under the designation of the Manlike Woman." She was "young and of delicate frame, her followers attributed her exploits

to the possession of supernatural power, and, therefore, received [her message] with implicit faith."

About 1891 a woman in the Thompson tribe declared that she had died and had gone to the land of souls. In dreams and visions she was told that she would be the savior of the Indians. She preached against the whites, attempted to induce the Indians to follow her to battle, and claimed that she was invulnerable and could not be killed by bullets. But her own tribesmen were not disposed to fight, and she met with strong opposition from chiefs of the bands that she visited. Finally, at Nicola Valley, British Columbia, she abandoned her project and went home. "Had she come twenty years earlier," James Teit wrote, "it is difficult to say what might have been the result, as even now she has more than one admirer among the upper divisions of the tribe."

Smohalla, a member of the Sokulk tribe living on the Columbia River in eastern Washington, had been wounded and, it was thought, killed in a fight with a rival chief. But he crawled to a river, took refuge in a canoe that carried him some distance downstream, and was finally rescued by white men. Shortly afterward, he went down the Columbia River to the Willamette, thence south, through Oregon and California, into Mexico. He traveled east, then north, through Arizona, Utah, and Nevada, and finally returned to his tribe on the Columbia. To his tribesmen he announced that he had been dead and had gone to the spirit world, but in response to divine command had returned to instruct and guide his people. The Great Chief above was angry with his tribesmen because, said Smohalla, they had abandoned their old customs. Like the Shawnee prophet, he enhanced his prestige by predicting eclipses. For a time the eclipses occurred according to schedule, but later, when his predictions failed because his almanac had become out of date, his reputation dwindled.

The so-called Shaker religion, introduced among Puget Sound Indians in 1881, was inspired by John Slocum, or Squsachtun, a member of the Squaxin tribe. After a trance he announced that at the entrance to heaven angels had informed him he must either dwell in hell or return to his people and teach them to follow the straight and narrow path. He decided to return to his people. The faith spread, and messianic claims were made by some adherents. One enthusiast declared that he was the reincarnation of Christ. At the head of several score of followers, he rode through the streets of Olympia with hands outstretched in imitation of the

crucified Christ. When Indians and whites ridiculed him, he reduced his pretensions to the modest claim that he was a prophet and had received revelations from heaven.

In May, 1906, after the San Francisco earthquake, the Wintun, in the western foothills of the Sacramento valley, were assembled by Salvador, who had received inspiration through a trance. They celebrated the *Hesi* ceremony, which was largely messianic. One of the speakers said: "I am going away in search of the future world. I do not know just where it is, but know I shall find it somewhere above, either in the north or in the west. That is the way I shall look about and, when I do, the world will come to an end." The messianic faith still lingers among the Pomo of northern California, in some Mexican tribes, and probably elsewhere in aboriginal North America.

One of the last echoes of the Ghost Dance in the Plains area was heard about 1910, when it had some vogue in modified form among the Sarsi of Alberta, who received it from the Assiniboine. The latter were not influenced by the movement of the 1890's. About 1910 Cough Child, a Sarsi, declared that God had revealed himself in a vision and had instructed him to sleep for four nights on a designated mountain. He was to rub paint on his cheeks when thunder rumbled, then return to his people and restore their former religion. Cough Child said that Christianity had destroyed the power which the Maker had given them through the medium of prayer and the medicine-pipe. He had received power to heal by breathing upon the sick, and the woman in labor upon whose abdomen he breathed would forthwith deliver her child. When he had proclaimed his mission, he held a dance. His body and clothing were covered with white paint, a thunderbird was painted on his blanket, and several men served as drummers and sang the songs which he had taught them. He attracted large audiences, but the movement soon declined. As late as 1921, however, at least one woman wore the white feather signifying membership in the cult. It is reported that the Ghost Dance was revived among the Wind River Shoshoni in 1922. and. according to Capt. O. C. Stewart, U. S. A., an Indian of this tribe recently claimed to be the son of God and the king of western Indians, although his fellow tribesmen apparently did not accept his pretensions.

During the Christmas festivities of 1921, Neakoteah, an Eskimo, proclaimed messiahship among the half-Christianized Eskimo of Kevetuk, Baffin Land. He simulated the hanging of Jesus

from the cross. People clustered about him, knelt, and kissed the hem of his robe. He appointed two disciples and selected three messengers, to whom he gave Biblical names, to carry the doctrine to all peoples. After studying the Bible, the messiah proclaimed that henceforth there would be no husbands and wives in Kevetuk: "You are all to love one another, for so it is written." He attempted to perform before the people the miracle of restoring sight to an old blind man. But the afflicted man paid with his life for his failure to respond to the treatment, for he perished in a blizzard when he was left far from camp to find his way back alone. However, when Neakoteah returned from this expedition, he declared: "I am Jesuee. Soon the end of the world will come. We must prepare for it and fast." Neakoteah and his two disciples, armed with rifles, patrolled the village to enforce fasting. At last he ordered the people to kill their dogs as sacrifice. Many of these valuable animals were shot or stabbed to death. Neakoteah, sitting alone in his snow house, fired a bullet through its walls. "I am God; I am making thunder," he explained. He then discharged his rifle into the air several times "to kill the angels." The famished Eskimo, convinced that they would be killed if they ventured out, remained within their igloos. Apparently believing that his career was over, Neakoteah decided to baptize his people in blood before he died. He inflicted a deep cut in his scalp, and with water containing the blood from this wound he marked each person, saying as he did so, "You are being baptized in my blood." He then demanded human sacrifice. Two of his followers complied by stabbing a man to death. Eventually Neakoteah was shot by a member of the village community. He determined not to die, rubbed the fatal wound with his shirt, and said: "I am Jesuee, and I cannot be killed. Glory be to God." At the entrance to his igloo he crumpled and died. At least one of his followers would not believe him dead, and anxiously awaited the messiah's resurrection. On a marker by his grave at Home Bay the villager who had killed him inscribed the following epitaph: "Here lies Neakoteah. It is not good for man to take the place of God."

* * *

One night in 1893. Tokeriu sat musing beneath a sacred tree near Milne Bay, New Guinea. In the morning his face was transfigured and he appeared to have lost his wits. He announced that

during the following moon there would be a violent thunderstorm. Black clouds would flash lightning, a deluge of rain would fall, and a furious gale would sweep the coast. The foundations of the earth would shake; there would be an eruption in the middle of Milne Bay; and a new island would rise above the waves. A tidal wave would submerge the coast for two or three months. Unbelievers would be destroyed, but those who obeyed the spirit's commands transmitted by the prophet would be spared. For, said Tokeriu, the spirit had declared to him that no one might possess any of the things introduced by the white men, as these things typified foreign domination. In the new era the old ways would be re-ëstablished, ancient customs and the ancestral religion revived.

Tokeriu demanded that as the outward and visible sign of grace the faithful should wear in their armlets a long ribbon of leaves reaching almost to the ground. He insisted further that they burn their houses and go to the highest peaks in the mountain ranges, for their old habitations would be swept away. At Gabugabuna, people deserted their villages and built new houses about a half-mile from the coast. After the catastrophe, said Tokeriu, the wind would shift to the southeast—the quarter from which refreshing breezes came during the greater part of the year. The land would be covered with yams, taro, and other native foods, and the trees would be laden with delicious fruits. The southeast wind would bring to their shore a huge vessel crowded with spirits of the dead. The faithful, who alone would survive, would then be reunited with departed relatives and friends. In this immediate future, food would be abundant. Tokeriu's followers ate their garden produce and did not plant or cultivate; many of them killed and ate their pigs. Time passed, the prophecy was not fulfilled, and the natives turned against Tokeriu. He was so frequently threatened with death, especially by the old men, who were enraged at the slaughter of the pigs, that the government interned him until the resentment died down. In 1912 another messiah arose among New Guinea Papuans near what was then the German boundary.

On Santo, one of the largest and most northerly of the New Hebrides islands, there were outbreaks some years ago similar to those in the Gulf region of Papuan New Guinea. Several prophets foretold a flood from which only the elect would be saved. They

promised resurrection and a ship from Sydney filled with rice and trade goods. On one occasion, convinced that their ship had arrived, they almost succeeded in taking possession of a recruiting schooner. At sight of a sail, fire-signals were set by anxious watchers on the beach. Emissaries of Ronovuro, the chief prophet, traveled all over Santo and enrolled hundreds, perhaps thousands, who paid in money and pigs for promised privileges and benefits. In one section of the island the assertions of Ronovuro were believed because, it was said, although he had not attended school, he could write the white man's language. As evidence of this ability people produced a piece of paper scrawled with meaningless marks.

It was reported that Ronovuro had resurrected a deceased cow, and that a follower who had dropped dead at a dance had been promptly restored to life. The promised resurrections of deceased tribesmen, however, were repeatedly postponed. Whites were declared to be the cause of most deaths not attributed to old age, and they were also accused of preventing the resurrections. The cry arose, "Santo for the Santonese." According to an old story, when a certain noted native murderer had been kalled, his victims came to life. This story now became popular and was construed to mean: "Kill the whites who have caused the death of natives, and the dead shall arise." On July 24, 1923, Ronovuro conducted a great dance; at its conclusion, the resurrections were to take place. He recognized as his deceased son a half-breed who was observing the ceremony, thus fulfilling the prophecy that the bodies of the resurrected would be white-skinned. But the half-breed honored did not appreciate his advantages and soon left. During the ceremony Ronovuro's wife died. After fruitless attempts to restore her to life, Ronovuro declared that Calpcott, a white planter, had caused her death and that only the forfeit of his life would restore her. Five men thereupon shot the planter, mutilated his body, and ate parts of it.

According to Fijian myth, two grandnephews of Ndgengei will return and usher in the millennium. The first Europeans to arrive at Fiji were believed to be descendants of these gods. This concept played a part in the *tuka* heresy in 1885, when Ndungumoi preached in the mountain district a religion which was a compound of the Ndengei cult and Christianity. He carried consecrated water which conferred immortality (*tuka*) upon those who drank of it.

His followers were instructed in the rites and ceremonies that combined a native war dance and European military drill. Ndungumoi declared that Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaria, the twins who had made war against Ndengei, were the gods whom the white man, in his inability to pronounce these two names, called Jehovah and Jesus. Some said Ndengei was the Christian God, while others insisted he was Satan, for Satan had assumed the form of a serpent. The twin gods, it was believed, would come to Fiji on a specified day, bringing with them all the dead ancestors of the Fijians. White men would be expelled, and tribal lands apportioned to those who accepted the faith. Probably the Europeans living in remote districts would have been massacred if the prophet had not been arrested and deported to Rotuma. The heresy broke out afresh in 1892 under a prophet who had been Ndungumoi's lieutenant.

* * *

In the latter half of the nineteenth century Siovedi, a native of Savaii, founded the "gimlet-religion." He professed to talk with God and to work miracles. He enjoined mutual confession of sins in time of sickness and accompanied the celebration of divine service with the discharge of firearms. The movement had its source in Christianity. So, too, did the belief in cure of disease, by touch, practiced in Samoa by an old woman who alleged that Christ resided within her. She hid behind a curtain while performing her cures, and invoked God.

The Maori of New Zealand organized an outbreak against the British in 1864. They were inspired by the enthusiasms of the Paimirire sect or, as outsiders called them, the Hau Haus. The sect claimed to have received the sword of the Lord and of Gideon with which to smite the foreigner and the unfaithful. The founder of the movement, To Va, declared the angel Gabriel had imparted to him a new religion. The ritual of the sect embodied many elements of Roman Catholic liturgy and for a while was performed in a Roman Catholic chapel at Opotiki. A New Zealand Anglican bishop of the day attributed the underlying cause of the movement to "utter loss of faith in everything that is English, clergy and all alike." Tribes hostile to the British were banded together in the movement for a religio-political crusade lasting from 1864 to 1871. One prophet, Henaniah, professed invulnerability but eventually fell before British muskets, and his followers fled.

Henaniah's adherents said he had offended the angel Gabriel. A former follower, Matene, went to another tribe to make new converts. In a subsequent encounter the Hau Haus marched to battle confident that they were invulnerable and that their enemies were timid and afraid. To the chant of *Matua pai mirire rire, rire—hau!* the Maori warriors rushed into battle, making mystic passes with uplifted right hands. The incantation ended in the loudly barked "hau!" was considered a powerful spell which would make the white man's bullets innocuous. The luckless Maori who fell could blame only his want of faith, declared the Hau Hau prophets.

As late as 1910, in some of the bush villages of Tuhoeland, the cult of the Ringa-tu, the "Uplifted Hand," was honored with chant and gesture, though the old fanaticism was gone. In every Hau Hau village, in some long after the war, stood a *Niu,* a sacred flagstaff rigged with yard and flag halyards. Round this *Niu* were performed the ceremonies of the Hau Haus. Morning and night, sometimes several times a day, people marched in procession around the pole chanting the wild music of the Hau Hau ritual. The chant, invented by Te Ua, was a medley of words and phrases learned from Europeans. His followers who repeated this mixture of pidgin-English believed they possessed the Biblical gift of tongues. The rhythmic and haunting chant, with frequent repetitive phrases, appeared to be taken from the Church of England prayer-book. It called upon God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost to "have mercy upon us—mercy, mercy." In the evening there were weird performances and weirder sounds in the great meeting-house. Before the speech-making and the gossiping, Hau Hau prayers were intoned by earnest devotees. A note of peace and piety characterized the Hau Hau hymns and prayers.

* * *

The late Major Jesse C. Tarbell told the writer of a messiah among the Moro, of Mindanao, who claimed to be Jesus Christ and was accompanied by an older man regarded as God himself. A miracle they performed for the conversion of the credulous consisted of breaking by sheer strength what appeared to be a solid iron bar. Upon examination Major Tarbell found that it was two pieces soldered together.

The Murut, of North Borneo, looked forward to a millennium in which fruit trees would bear threefold, rice would appear with-

out having been planted, and men would be able to fly. One messiah, in an effort to fly, threw himself from a tree and was rewarded with a broken leg. The millennial expectation may have been responsible for the Rundum rebellion in 1915. To Ingkun, a Tagul headman and leader of the rebellion, a dream revealed that the millennium was at hand. If his people would build an underground fortress, all their dead relatives would assemble and the long-promised new era would dawn. This gathering was to be the prelude to a new and happier existence.

* * *

Movements for social betterment are not uncommon among the primitive tribes of India. In 1932 a rumor circulated through Jeypore and spread into Bastar, that a god had descended on one of the mountains of the eastern Ghats. He commanded all men to give up keeping black poultry and goats, wearing clothes which contained black, or using umbrellas or blankets which contained black. The people were also forbidden to use beads or articles made of aluminum alloy. Villages held purification ceremonies and cast out the interdicted articles. British Government propaganda checked the spread of this movement. A similar movement has been reported among the Gond of Chota Nagpur, who gave up poultry and pigs "as a measure of social uplift."

* * *

In recent years in Burma, "God," wearing European apparel, appeared in a dream to one Sokte Kuki and gave the rules for a church that appeared to be a caricature of Christianity. In Assam a young girl was reported to have received visits in dreams from Jihovu (Jehovah), who also wore European clothes. The "Commands of Jihovu" issued by the prophetess caused so much trouble to the authorities that she was kept under "proper control." Among the Kabui Naga, in Manipur, a man who introduced a debased form of Hinduism and claimed kingship over three tribes promised invulnerability and bumper crops. After attaining some local eminence, he was executed for practicing human sacrifice.

* * *

The earliest recorded messianic movement among African Negroes was one among the Xosa, a South African tribe. An out-

break in 1818 against the British was the result. Its stimulus may be traced to misfortunes brought by the white man. As in the North American Ghost Dance movement and in North Borneo, the return of deceased tribesmen was promised. Mokana, who led an attack on a British fort in 1818, was allegedly a brother of Jesus, sent by the great spirit Uhlanga to avenge the wrongs done the Xosa. He claimed power to summon from the grave ancestral spirits who would assist in the struggle against the British. Mokana expressed firm belief that with the help of these spirits, he and his followers would drive the oppressors into the ocean. The bullets of the enemy would be turned into water.

Mokana was the son of a woman with a reputation for divination. To skills inherited from his mother he added information gleaned from white persons. A sermon by one Dr. Vanderkamp on the resurrection of the dead made a powerful impression on him, but he failed to adopt Christianity. He frequently visited British headquarters in Graham Town. There he showed insatiable curiosity and intelligent understanding of many subjects. He liked to talk of war and mechanical arts with the officers, but his especial delight was to talk with the chaplain. From him he drew information regarding Christian doctrines, and often puzzled the good man with metaphysical subtleties or sheer mysticism. He was reserved and solemn, but when he addressed the crowds who came to hear him he was eloquent. He preached strict morality and fearlessly upbraided the chiefs for their vices. In proof of the great flood about which the missionaries had told him, he displayed sea-shells from the tops of nearby mountains.

On one occasion he told his followers to go to a certain hollow rock on the beach at the mouth of the Buffalo River, where they would find their resurrected relatives. The people assembled and Mokana joined them at the appointed time, but the dead did not arise. This failure of his prophecy did not destroy his prestige, and he subsequently foretold many events that, according to thousands of his followers, did come to pass. He instituted certain reforms. The people had been accustomed to carry the dead into the forest and to burn the hut of the deceased, but he induced them to bury the dead near the hut. If they did not comply, they would, he said, offend the ancestral spirits. Within twenty years interment became general among the Xosa. Mokana changed other customs, but later the people reverted to their old habits. After

his failure to consolidate the western Xosa, he and most of his followers joined another chief against the British. In 1819 Mokana led a raid on a Moravian mission station. Messengers invited all Xosa to join him against the Europeans, saying that those who failed to rally to the cause would be punished by the ancestral spirits. Shortly afterward he led an attack on the garrison at Graham Town. His forces were repulsed with heavy losses and he surrendered to the Dutch, in order, so he said, to secure peace for his starving people. He was imprisoned on Robben Island, where political offenders were confined. There, during the night of August 9, 1820, he put himself at the head of thirty fellow-prisoners, overpowered the guard, seized several whaling boats, and started for the mainland. His companions reached the shore, but he was drowned.

A generation later, another revolt was led by the messiah Umhlakaza. There had been earlier attempts to rouse South African Bantu chiefs against the British, but the time had seemed inopportune. Many who had hesitated were convinced, however, when they heard that a child born with two heads had spoken immediately after birth and had foretold the overthrow of the British. In 1855 a lung disease killed many cattle of whites and natives, and the latter were desperate. The times were ripe for a messiah, and one soon made his appearance. In May, 1856, a girl about thirteen or fourteen years of age, named Mongquase, told her father's brother, Umhlakaza, who professed wonderful visions, that she had seen men of extraordinary appearance by a river. Umhlakaza investigated and reported that he had found the strangers, who commanded him to return to his hut, purify himself in the usual ceremonial fashion, sacrifice an ox to the spirits of the dead, and come back four days later. He obeyed these commands and on the fourth day found the same strangers at the river. Among them he recognized his brother, who had been dead many years. The strangers declared themselves the inveterate enemies of the white man. They had come from battlefields across the sea to aid the Xosa and with their invincible power to drive the English from the country. Umhlakaza claimed also that they appointed him their medium of communication with the chiefs, and directed him to warn people to abandon witchcraft, kill their cattle, and eat them. Not a goat, ox, or cow of their herds should be spared, all grain should be destroyed, and no garden planted. Only horses

and weapons should be retained. If this were done, prophesied Umhlakaza, the spirits would cause countless herds of cattle, immune to disease and more beautiful than any yet seen, to issue from the earth and cover the pastures far and wide. Great fields of ripe millet would spring up. Ancient heroes and wise men would reappear to share the joys of the faithful. Trouble and sickness would vanish, there would be no more old age, and the living and the risen dead would be beautiful and young. The disloyal would be destroyed, and a hurricane would sweep them and the white men into the sea. (Previously the prophet had declared the sky would fall and crush the white men.) Missionaries and agents of the Government tried in vain to stop the destruction of livestock. Meanwhile, the natives eagerly purchased trifles from English traders in exchange for the hides of two hundred thousand slaughtered cattle. Most of the natives acted blindly under the influence of delusion, but some of the leaders who welcomed the proceedings believed them a prelude to war.

Early in the year 1857 there was unwonted activity among many South African tribes. The people made ready for the reception of the cattle soon to appear, countless as the stars. They made enormous skin sacks for the milk, soon to be as plentiful as water. Huts were strengthened and carefully thatched to withstand the violence of the coming hurricane. Meanwhile, some natives were starving, for to the eastward the prophet's command to destroy all food had been obeyed. Still the day of resurrection was postponed. This was a token of mercy to the Gaikas, said Umhlakaza, for their chiefs had not yet killed all their cattle.

Finally, after several postponements, Umhlakaza designated February 18, 1857, as the day when the new cattle and the dead tribesmen would appear, the fields suddenly produce millet, and the other promised events transpire. The natives, although famished and weak, were delirious with joy. The morning soon to be ushered in would see the end of their sorrows and miseries. When the sun rose as usual, the hearts of the anxious watchers sank. "What will become of us if Umhlakaza's predictions are false?" they asked one another. When noon passed and the shadows lengthened and turned toward the East, they thought the setting of the sun would be the time indicated. The sun went down; and the Xosa and the Tembu realized their sad plight. The day of resurrection was again postponed but excited anticipation became

despair. At least twenty-five thousand natives perished; most estimates are double that number. Umhlakaza, too, died of hunger. Some of the survivors formed robber bands and attacked tribesmen who had not destroyed their cattle and grain. They accused these sceptics of being the cause of the disaster. By failing to carry out Umhlakaza's command, they had prevented the spirits from coming to the aid of all. Many South African Bantu held this belief to the time of their death. For several months the border was in a disturbed state, until the Government dispersed the robber bands.

In recent years many Bechuana have claimed to be the messengers of the Most High God, Modimo. One asserted that he was John the Baptist, and another claimed to be Jesus returned to earth. Still another ordered the sacrifice on a certain day of every living thing, and the destruction of everything not of native construction, declaring that this was the command of Modimo. A few years ago a man who had accepted Christianity but who retained the belief that Modimo walked among the children of men and spoke to them declared that he had met the Lord Jesus Christ in the veldt, and that the Lord had spoken to him and given him an important message to deliver to the missionaries.

Chapter VIII

RETURN OF THE GOD OR LEADER

"It is the fortune of all good men," said Plutarch, "that their virtue rises in glory after their deaths, and that the envy which evil men conceive against them never outlives them long; some have the happiness even to see it die before them." This observation could well be applied to many historic movements in which people have acclaimed a god, culture hero, or other leader of the past who would return to save his people. Often it has not been admitted that the leader was dead. Instead, it was insisted that he had only temporarily withdrawn. In early Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, and India a second advent of the leader was expected. Egyptians awaited the return of Osiris and Ra; Assyrians looked for Ishtar and Hammurapi. Similar hopes, probably inspired by Eastern ideas and usually associated with the god of vegetation, pervaded Greece and Rome. According to Plutarch, Romulus after death appeared to a faithful friend, Julius Proculus, who took oath in the forum that:

> As he was traveling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming to meet him, looking taller and comelier than ever, dressed in shining and flaming armour; and he, being affrighted at the apparition, said, "Why, O king, or for what purpose have you abandoned us to unjust and wicked surmises, and the whole city to bereavement and endless sorrow?" and that he made answer, "It pleased the gods, O Proculus, that we, who came from them, should remain so long a time amongst men as we did; and, having built a city to be the greatest in the world for empire and glory, should again return to heaven. But farewell; and tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the height of human power; we will be to you the propitious god Quirinus."

In the first century A.D., as mentioned previously, the return of Nero was awaited, and an impostor claimed to be the Emperor. In 220 A.D., in the Danubian region, another impostor claimed to be the returned Alexander the Great and was followed by four hundred Bacchantes, carrying the thyrsus and nebris. After a strange sacrifice and the burial of a wooden horse near Chalcedon, this pseudo-Alexander suddenly disappeared. A Persian legend tells of Keresaspa, destroyer of demons, who, after many marvelous exploits, was wounded by a Turanian on the plain of Kaboul. Ninety-nine thousand and nine hundred angels guarded his body; though he had died, he still lived. At the end of time, when the serpent Zohak, chained upon the mountain Demavend, should break his chains and traverse the world in triumph, Keresaspa would rouse from his slumber and slay Zohak with one blow. Khumbya, Aghraeratha, the companion-in-arms of King Kaikhosrav and many other Persian immortals have awaited in the tomb the hour of final struggle. Heroes who bide their time in distant and invisible regions include Urvatatnara, son of Zoroaster, who carried his father's law into the subterranean kingdom of Yima, and Peshotanu, son of King Gushtasp, whom Zoroaster caused to drink a cup of sacred milk that rendered him immortal. At the end of the time they would surround the Saoshyant, unborn son of Zoroaster, who would re-appear, kill Death, and preside at the resurrection. Followers of Bihafrid, who at the beginning of the Abassid period led a Parsi outbreak against Islam, said that he ascended into heaven and would return to earth to take vengeance on enemies. Mandaeans said that Hirmz Shah, a contemporary of Adam, would again rule over Iran. When he lived on earth there was no wrongdoing, strife, or war; all men were equal and there were no rich or poor. He ruled wisely for eighty years; then, observing that all was well with his people, he said: "I will go on a journey and let the government and the governing take care of itself." He rode away and entered a castle, the castle wall closing behind him. There he dwelt by a magic fountain, near which is a marvelous lote tree, on whose branches perch miraculous birds.

The Hindu kings Maru and Kevapi, it is believed, dwelt in a mountain cavern in the Himalayas and would come to the assistance of the god Kalki; and the Bhiksu Mahakasyapa, who lived in the Kukkutapada mountains, would return to aid the Buddha Maitreya in his work of reconstruction. At the end of the present

world period the Bhiksu would return incarnate as Kalki and free the land from Moslem oppressors. To this day some oppressed classes believe that Kalki will deliver them and restore their lost prestige.

Such beliefs were usually held about an individual whose return was desired. Occasionally they applied to one whose return was feared. Swiss legend relates that when the body of Pilate was thrown into the Tiber, the river rejected it. Evil spirits then buried Pilate's body in a quagmire on Mount Pilatus. Once a year Pilate would come out of his grave arrayed in scarlet and sit nearby on a rock. One who saw him would die twelve months later. The natives of Gilgit, in the highlands of northeast India, expected the return of a former ogre king, Shri Badat, who levied a tax of children on his subjects and each day had their flesh served to him at dinner. When Shri Badat learned that he and his castle were surrounded by enemies carrying torches, he leaped into the air, flew toward Chotur Khan, and alighted amid snow and ice on the mountains which encircle Gilgit. There he hid under a great glacier, for he possessed a soul of butter which heat would melt. Gilgit natives believed he would return, resume his rule over them, and devour their children in greater numbers than before. On the anniversary of the day on which he escaped, they kept great fires burning, so that his soul of butter could not penetrate the flames to live in their land. On that night no one dares to sleep. Perhaps the legend had the same historic origin as the tale of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, which dates from about 1376. Certainly the latter tale was much older than events of the Children's Crusade that are presumed to have inspired it.

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The widespread belief that Elijah would return and herald the advent of the messiah was based on *Malachi* (3: 45): "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord. And he will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the land with a ban."

Elijah, who abruptly appeared and announced to Ahab the coming years of drought and famine, subsequently was taken up into the heavens in a chariot of fire drawn by horses of fire. During the lifetime of Jesus, "some say he is Elias" (*Mark*, 8: 28)—

some thought Jesus was the prophet whose return would herald the advent of the true messiah. Reappearances of Elijah were described in the *Talmud* and in later Jewish legends. In one Jewish tale, a poor Jew and his wife were in great need. The man wished to seek work, but had no clothes. His wife borrowed garments for him and he walked the streets hunting employment. A venerable man offered to become his slave. The poor Jew undertook with the assistance of his slave to build a prince's palace for ten thousand thalers. The mysterious slave labored diligently. Angels assisted him and the mansion was finished with astonishing rapidity. When the Jew had received the money, the slave announced that he was Elijah and forthwith vanished.

On another occasion, after Arabs had captured the city of Elvan, Fadhilah, at the head of three hundred horsemen, pitched his tents late in the evening between two mountains. When he had begun his evening prayer, in a loud voice, he heard the words, "Allah akbar!" ("God is great!") repeated distinctly after each word of his prayer. The voice was certainly not an echo and in astonishment he cried out: "O thou! whether thou art of the angel ranks, or whether thou art of some other order of spirits, the power of God be with thee; but if thou art a man, then let mine eyes light upon thee, that I may rejoice in thy presence and society." Scarcely had he uttered these words than Elijah, in the person of an aged and bald-headed man, stood before him. In his hand he held a staff, and his appearance suggested a dervish. Fadhilah courteously saluted and asked the old man who he was. The stranger replied: "I am here by command of the Lord Jesus who has left me in this world, that I may live therein until he comes a second time to earth. I wait for the Lord, who is the Fountain of Happiness, and in obedience to his command I dwell beyond the mountain." Fadhilah asked when the Lord Jesus would appear. The old man replied that he would arrive at the end of the world. This response increased Fadhilah's curiosity and he inquired what signs would herald the end of all things. Elijah then told in detail the general social and moral dissolution which would precede the end of the world.

The Rabbinic work *Sether Olam Rabba* stated that Elijah disappeared in the second year of Hezekiah and would not appear again until the messiah came. He would then show himself, disappear once more, and remain in hiding until Gog and Magog come.

The *Gemara* recorded that Elijah delivered this prophecy: "The world will last six thousand years; but, because of our iniquities which have superabounded, the years of messiah have passed away." A Talmudic legend related that a certain rabbi met Elijah the Prophet and asked him when the messiah would come. "Go and ask Messiah himself," Elijah replied, "you will find him at the city gate; and by this token you will know him, that he sits among the poor and sick. A man of sorrows himself, he ministers lovingly to those who suffer, and binds up their wounds." The rabbi found the messiah and asked him, "When wilt thou come, Master?" He was answered, "Today." When the rabbi again met Elijah, he complained: "Messiah has deceived me; he said he would come today, but he has not come." "Nay," was Elijah's reply; "he is no deceiver: in truth he will come today—yes, 'today,' as the Psalmist says, 'if we will hearken unto God's voice.' "

According to Jewish tradition, when the messiah should appear, Elijah would induce Israel to repent, and peace and harmony would be established throughout the world. Elijah would settle all legal difficulties, solve all problems that have accumulated since days immemorial, and decide all controversial issues. All differences of opinion would vanish before the messiah comes. When peace on earth had been established, Elijah would expound the law. His relation to Moses would be analogous to the role filled by Aaron. His preparatory work would begin three days before the advent of the messiah. Then he would appear in Palestine, and lament the devastation of the Holy Land; his wail would be heard throughout the world, and the last words of his elegy would be: "Now peace will come upon earth!" When evil-doers heard this message, they would rejoice. On the second day he would again appear, and proclaim: "Good will come upon earth!" On the third day men should hear his promise: "Salvation will come upon earth!" Michael would blow the trumpet, and Elijah would introduce the messiah. To insure identification of the messiah the Jews would demand that before their eyes he resurrect and revive the dead whom they had known personally. The messiah would then accomplish the following seven wonders: He would bring Moses and the generation of the desert to life: resurrect Korah and his band: revive the Ephraimitic messiah, who was slain; exhibit the three holy vessels of sacred oil which disappeared mysteriously; wave the scepter given him by God; grind the mountains of the

Holy Land into powder; and, finally, reveal the secret of redemption. The Jews would then believe that he was the promised Elijah and know that the messiah introduced by him was the true one.

In the ensuing reign of peace, according to tradition, Elijah would be one of the eight princes in the messiah's cabinet. On the great judgment day those who died in infancy because of the sins of their fathers would stand among the just and their fathers would be ranged on the other side. Elijah would go to the little ones and teach them to plead for their fathers. They would stand before God and say: "Is not the measure of good, the mercy of God, larger than the measure of chastisement? If, then, we died for the sins of our fathers, should they not now for our sakes be permitted to join us in Paradise?" God would grant their pleadings. Thus Elijah would have fulfilled the word of the prophet Malachi. He would have brought back the fathers to the children. The last act of Elijah's career would be the execution of God's command to slay Samuel, and thus forever banish evil.

During the Sabbathaian movement of the seventeenth century, the expectation of Elias (Elijah) was linked with contemporary messianism; according to Nathaniel Crouch, a writer of that period:

> There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the *Messiah,* and the solemnity of his coming but the presence of Elias, whom the Jews began to expect hourly, and with that intention and earnestness, that every dream or phantasme to a weak head was judged to be Elias; it being taught, and avered, that he was seen in diverse forms and shapes, not to be certainly discovered or known, before the coming of the Messiah; for this superstition is so far fixed amongst them, that generally in their families they spread a table for Elias the Prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor people, leaving the chief place for the Lord Elias, whom they believe to be invisibly present at the entertainment, and there to eat and drink, without diminution, either of the dishes, or of the cup. One person amongst the Jews commanded his Wife after a supper of this kind, to leave the cup filled with wine, and the meat standing all night, for Elias to feast, and Rejoyce alone; and in the morning arising early, affirmed, that Elias took his banquet so kindly, that in token of gratitude, and acceptance, he had replenished the cup with oyl, instead of wine. It is a certain custom amongst the Jews on the evening of the Sabbath, to repeat certain praises of God (called Havdila) which signifies a distinction, or separation of the Sabbath from the prophane days (as they call them) which praises they observe to perform in this manner. One takes a cup filled with wine, and drops it through the whole house, saying Elias the Prophet, Elias the Prophet, Elias the Prophet, come quickly to us with the Messiah, the Son

of God, and David; and this they affirm to be so acceptable to Elias, that he never fails to preserve that family, so devoted to him, and augment it with the blessings of increase. Many other things the Jews avouch of Elias, so ridiculous, as are not fit to be declar'd, amongst which this one is not far from our purpose that at the circumcision there is always a chair set for Elias: and Sabatai Sevi being once invited to Smyrna to the circumcision of the first-born-son of one Abraham Gutiere, a kinsman of Sabatai, and all things ready for the ceremony, Sabatai Sevi exhorted the parent of the child to wait a while until his farther order: After a good half hour, Sabatai order'd them to proceed and cut the prepuce of the child, which was instantly perform'd with all joy and satisfaction to the parents: and being afterwards demanded the reason why he retarded the performance of that function, his answer was that Elias had not as yet taken his seat, whom, as soon as he saw placed, he ordered them to proceed; and that now shortly Elias would discover himself openly, and proclaim the news of the general redemption.

This being the common opinion amongst the Jews, and that Sabatai Sevi was the Messiah, being become an Article of Faith, it was not hard to persuade them, that Elias was come already, that they met him in their dishes, in the dark, in their bed-chambers, or any where else invisible, in the same manner as our common people in England believe of Hobgoblins & Fairies. For so it was, when Solomon Cremona, an inhabitant of Smyrna, making a great feast, to which the principal Jews of the City were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one starts from his seat, and vouches that he saw Elias upon the wall, and with that bows to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility.

Koranic commentators say that when Ezra was a young man he was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar, but was miraculously delivered from prison, and then returned to Jerusalem. He found the city in ruins and halted nearby at the village of Sair-Abad. Its houses were empty and had fallen into decay but the fig-trees and vines remained in the gardens. Ezra collected the fruit, made a little cell out of the fallen stones, and kept near him the ass on which he had ridden. When this holy man contemplated the ruins of the holy city and of the Temple, he wept bitterly before the Lord, and cried in lament, rather than doubt, "How can the walls of Jerusalem ever be set up again?" According to one tradition: "At the time of carrying away into Babylon, the sacred fire had been cast into a well in the temple court. Ezra, having drawn some of the dirt out of the well, placed on it the wood of the sacrifice; then the flame, which for a hundred and forty years had been extinguished, burst forth again out of the mire. When Ezra saw this wonder he thrice drank of the dust out of the well; and thus he

imbibed the prophetic spirit, and the power of recomposing from memory the lost sacred books."

There was a popular belief in Mohammedan lands that the Khidr, "the Green one," a Mohammedan saint of old, continued to live. In Syrian sanctuaries built in his honor the first-born of animals were offered to him. He was an ever-present help in time of trouble, a balm to the afflicted. Although Ibn Khaldun, renowned fourteenth century theologian, branded as mere superstition the belief that the Khidr was still alive, the masses have ignored this conservative doctrine. Mohammedan Malays who identified Khidr with Elias (Elijah) believed he discovered and drank of the fountain of life and would not die until the last trump had sounded. Ibn Khaldun located the fountain of immortality, allegedly discovered by Khidr, near Sherwan, "a province of Armenia." It was related also that when Moses and Joshua were wandering along the shore of the Persian Gulf they came upon the Khidr. Over the entrance to a cave were inscribed the words, "In the Name of the all-powerful and all-merciful God." They entered the cave and found seated within it a vigorous man with white hair and long white beard reaching to his feet. He was the prophet El-Khidr, who accompanied Alexander, the two-horned, to the West, had drunk of the fountain of immortality, and thenceforth was ever young though "marked with the signs of a beautiful old age."

The name El Khidr, "the Green One," is said to be derived from the fact that a stone he sat upon became green with grass. Later in his career, an idolatrous king put El-Khidr to death several times with horrible tortures, but each time he revived. Sabine Baring-Gould, the folklorist, believed him to be a reincarnation of the Sabean Sun-god Tammuz, who was dethroned by Mohammed and in popular tradition sank to the level of prophet. Earlier myths of Tammuz were then applied to the Khidr. According to Baring-Gould, "His wandering to the West is the sun setting there: his drinking of the well of immortality is the sun plunging into the sea. His clothing the dry land with grass is significant of the power of the sun over vegetation. His torments are figures of the sun setting, in storm, in flames of crimson, or swallowed by the black thunder-cloud: but from all his perils he rises again in glory in the eastern sky." Possibly the name Khidr is derived from Urikittu, the Chaldean name of the moon god Sinn, which means "the Green One" and is also the title of Ishtar. Robert Briffault

believed it "no great feat of metamorphosis or evolution on the part of the moon-goddess Ishtar to become an Earth-goddess; she was so from the first in the sense of being the producer of all earthly life, the Great Mother. She is styled not only 'the first in Heaven' but 'the first on Earth.' She is a special deity of mountains, and called 'Lady of Mountains.' "

The belief of the Kuku, of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, that the moon comes down to earth to eat the rich green grass, may be related to the Khidr tradition.

Perhaps this Mohammedan concept of the Khidr influenced the folklore of the Kede, a Mohammedanized people on the Niger River, who said that in the remote past they were helped by two men, one of whom wore two garments, one garment over the other, and sat on a stone in midstream. These men were the ancestors of the Kede and the first to "rule over the water," which has since remained a Kede possession.

Possibly legends of Elijah influenced the Khidr traditions. The shrines of El-Khidr, or Al-Khudr, were not considered tombs, for many people believe he did not die. Christians in Palestine and Syria identified him with St. George, and to the Convent of St. George, in the village of Al-Khudr, between Bethlehem and Hebron, both Moslems and Christians brought their sick, particularly lunatics, to be cured. A similar institution was Mar Jirius, or St. George, near the Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem. Three Jerusalem churches were dedicated to the saint; a spring at Nablous, and a hot spring near Elbassan, Albania, also bore the saint's name. Of the many Syrian shrines dedicated to Al-Khudr, the most famous were the church of St. George, at Lydda, where, according to tradition, the saint was buried; the ruined church of Mar Jirius at Taiyibah, north of Jerusalem; the great convent of Elijah on Mount Carmel; the cave of Elijah at the foot of Carmel; and the synagogue dedicated to Elijah at Jobar, near Damascus. This synagogue, said tradition, was the very place at which Elijah anointed Elisha as prophet. Behind the building was the underground chamber where, according to tradition, Elijah was fed by ravens. Here, as to the cave at the foot of Mount Carmel, the sick, especially lunatics, were taken to be healed.

Al-Khudr appeared to be, in part, a deity of Spring and of vegetation. The historic motive for identifying him with Elijah and with St. George is not known. In Turkish lands he was rec-

ognized by his boneless thumb. It is said that he was present daily at one of the five prayers held in the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, in Constantinople. He appeared several times at St. Sophia, and at the Valideh Atik mosque in Skutari. The hold the Khidr had on the people was further evidenced by a station of the Khidr in the Aatik Ali Pasha mosque in Stamboul; a "place of Khidr," at Stamboul, which in 1677 was marked with an imperial kiosk; and a mosque at Gallipoli called "The Station of Khidr and Elias," occupying the place where the saint is supposed to have appeared to the poet Mehemed Yazijioglu.

Hindus adopted the Khidr legend and modified his Mohammedan name into Taja Kidar. In Bengal he was called Kawaj, or Pir Padr. Indian Mohammedans said a prayer to Khidr at the first shaving of a boy. A little boat was then launched in a river or in a tank, in Khidr's honor. The same rite, performed at the close of the rainy season, is associated with Saint Elisha. In the Sind, miniature boats about two feet long, resembling ancient galleys, were offered to Khwaja Khidr in the seventh month of a Mohammedan woman's pregnancy, and the ceremony was repeated on the fortieth day after her delivery. Khidr has been variously regarded as a companion of Moses and as a general in the army of Alexander the Great. In the Punjab, according to legend, he visited the markets in the early morning, assisted those whom he met, protected them from the evil eye, and fixed the rates on grain.

The followers of Dosithe, a first-century Jewish messiah, refused to believe that he was dead. Ethiopian Christians expected the return of their messianic king Theodorus. From Persian, Jewish, and Christian sources the concept of the return of the hero permeated Mohammedanism and gave rise to Imam, mahdi, and Khidr traditions. According to an Arabian historian, Mohammed's followers said after his death: "We did not think the Apostle of God would die before he had subdued the world." Whereupon Omar declared: "Before God I swear the Apostle of God is not dead and will not die, but he is only in concealment, as Moses ibn Imran was concealed for forty nights and then returned, and God cut off the hand and feet of the people." Abu Bakr, however, said: "Surely God himself is the announcer of his [Mohammed's] death to us, for he said, 'Thou truly shalt die and they too shall die' " (*Koran* 39: 31). To this, Omar replied: "By God, I had never read it." Subsequently, however, Omar told Abu Bakr he real-

ized that the Apostle of God had died—grief had caused him to say he had not died.

Persian followers of Mohammed Ibn al Hanafiyyah, the first mahdi of whom there is record, declared he was not dead, and would return seventy years after his apparent death. The verses of Sayyid Hinyari said that Hanafiyyah would not die until he had led his followers to victory. He resided on Mount Radwa, near Yanbu, where food was miraculously supplied him, and angels, lions, and panthers guarded him. According to Abu Dawud, his nose would be of peculiar shape, his hair of specified cut. By these signs his people would recognize him when he returned. Kasanis, a Mohammedan sect, expected the return of this Imam:

> One, until with waving flags,
> his horsemen he shall lead to fight,
> Dwells on Mount Radwa, concealed;
> honey he drinks and water bright.

In the eighth century, followers of Mohammed ben Abdallah said that Abdallah was not killed, that a demon had assumed his appearance and was slain in his stead. They predicted that he would miraculously defeat the forces sent against him. Similar claims were made for other men. Abdallah Ibn Maimum (died 796), a Shiite, did not suffer death but became invisible, and would remain unseen until his reappearance as the mahdi. To the seventh Iman, Musa al-Kazim (died 799), were attributed the words: "If [after my disappearance] any one asks about me, answer: 'He lives, thank God.' Cursed be any one questioned about me who answers: 'He is dead.' " This is a fairly accurate statement of the concept which prevailed during subsequent centuries. The mosque at Samarra was said to cover an underground vault into which disappeared Mohammed al-Muntazar, or Mohammed al-Mahdi (died 873), and from which he would emerge some day to resume office. To Shiite pilgrims the place of exit is sacred. Shiites expected the return of Mohammed al-Mahdi and when they pronounced his name they added: "May God hasten his glad advent!" This last Imam, or Mahdi, when five years old pined for his father who had been deported from Medina to Samarra by the tyrant Mutakakkil. He was detained there until his death. The distressed child searched for his father in a cave near his home and was never seen again. The belief prevailed that the child would return and would relieve a sorrowing and wicked world of its bur-

den of sin and oppression. During the lifetime of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), Shiites assembled at evening before the entrance to the cave and begged the missing child to return. This, according to Ibn Khaldun, happened daily. "When they were told that it was hardly possible that he could be alive, they answered that as the prophet Khize (Khidr) was alive, why should not their Imam be alive too? . . . This Imam, therefore, is called the Muntazzar, the Expected One, the Hujja, or the Proof (of the Truth), and the Kaim, the Living."

In 922 Hallaj was executed at Bagdad on the charge that he had pretended to be the incarnation of the mahdi and had persuaded others to accept him. His head was sent to Khurasan to be exhibited to his followers, and the ashes of his cremated body were thrown into the Tigris. Many followers refused to believe that he was dead and confidently awaited his reappearance, basing their faith on a passage in the *Koran* (4: 156) regarding Christ's reappearance.

Another Mahdi who "disappeared rather than died" was the "Mad Hakim" (996-1020) or Al Mokana. The Druses of the Lebanons, the Hauran, and some Persian Mohammedans confidently awaited his return, as the Ismaiili awaited the reappearance of their mahdi, Mohammed Ibn-Ismaiile. Hakim's claims were supported by Ismael Darize. Probably the name "Druse" is derived from "Darize," though an ingenious and enterprising etymologist suggested that the Druses derived their name from their supposed descent from the followers of the Count of Dreux, who, according to legend, settled in Palestine during the first Crusade. The error was embodied in Bishop Reginald Heber's poem "Palestine."

Hakim was proclaimed in Cairo in 1016. After his assassination in 1020, his vizier and apostle, Hanzi Ibn-Ali Ibn-Ahmed, announced that Hakim had merely withdrawn for a while and that his followers might confidently expect his triumphant return. Moktana Baba Ud-Din, whose writings were known to Mohammedans from Constantinople to India, addressed a letter to Constantine VIII and one to Michael the Paphlagonian, setting forth the proofs that the Christian messiah had reappeared in the person of Hakim. "When the tribulation of the faithful has reached its height, Hakim will reappear to conquer the world and render his religion supreme." The Druses believed to have been dispersed to China will

return to Syria. The combined body of the Faithful will take Mecca, then Jerusalem; and finally the whole world will accept the Faith.

The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus was known to Christians and Mohammedans throughout the East. Among many versions of this tale the following was best known: During the reign of the Emperor Decius seven Ephesian youths of noble birth fled from Ephesus because of the idolatry of its inhabitants. To reward their piety, God protected them from persecution by directing them to a cave in the valley of Rakim. Their dog, Katmir, followed them to this place of refuge. When they attempted to drive him away, God gave the animal speech and the dog said: "I love those who love God; therefore go to sleep and I will guard you." The young men entered the cave and God sent upon them a deep sleep which lasted more than two hundred years. During this time Divine Providence watched over them, the light of the sun was turned away from the cave, and their dog, with forepaws extended, sat at the entrance. Terror fell on all who approached the place. The seven youths were made to turn in their sleep, lest they become injured by lying too long on one side. When they awoke, they thought that they had slept part of a day, and one of them went into the city to buy provisions. He gave an antiquated coin in payment, and the recipient believed the man had found a treasure. He was brought before the authorities. News of the incident spread, and people hastened to the cave. After the seven youths had related their adventures, God ordained they should die. The prince ordered that they be buried in the valley and that a chapel be erected over their tomb.

Mohammedans regarded the Seven Sleepers as personages of great importance, ranking next to the prophets. They revered their dog, wrote its name as a talisman on letters, and believed that is was one of the five animals to be admitted to Paradise. The other four were the ram that Abraham sacrificed in the place of Isaac; Balaam's ass; the ass on which Christ triumphantly entered Jerusalem; and the mule on which Mohammed rode to heaven. The Mohammedan proverbial sarcasm about a miser is, "he would not throw a bone to the dog of the Seven Sleepers."

Many peoples have expected the return of a hero who, legend says, was sleeping or had gone away and would return to his people in time of need. According to tradition, three sons of Noah,

Shem, Ham, and Japheth, fell asleep in a cave and awoke after the birth of Jesus; they were the three men who came to adore the babe at Bethlehem. Orthodox Greeks long believed that the priest of Saint Sophia, who was killed when the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, was sleeping within the church and would come forth when the Turk was driven from the city. Boabdil, last Moorish king of Spain, was also believed to lie spellbound within the walls of the Alhambra, his slumber broken only on the eve of St. John. In 1526, the Moors of Almonacir, Spain, after the decree of expulsion, fortified themselves in a castle near Saragossa and founded their hope of succor from Africa upon the promised resurrection of the Moor Alfatimi, who was to return mounted on his green horse. The belief in the reappearance of a mounted Mohammedan warrior of great magic power, hidden away in a recess of the country, was prevalent among Spanish Moors. They at first asked for a year in which to prepare for the ordered expatriation. When this request was refused and the Spanish proceeded to enforce the order, the Moriscos revolted. Finally they lost faith in the belief that Alfatimi was concealed in the mountain where it was believed he had been since the days of King John. Cervantes referred in ironic vein to "the famous Moor Mosque, who lies to this day enchanted in the great mountain Zulema, not far distant from the Grand Compulto." Other legends state that in Switzerland the three Tells awaited by the Vierwaldstättersee the hour when their country shall again need deliverance from an oppressor; that Thomas of Erceldome sleeps beneath the Eilden hills in Scotland; and that the French who were murdered in the Sicilian Vespers at Palermo in 1282 slumber till the time comes to awake and avenge themselves.

* * *

One of the oldest European traditions has been associated with King Arthur of Britain, a legend as old as Celtic history. Belief in the return of the hero has been fostered by the Celtic concept of an Other-world in which such a favored person might happily sojourn. Such Other-worlds were known to the Celts under various names, for example, Tir-nar-og, the Land of the Youth, or the Shining Land. In Celtic myth the Isle of the Men of Talga, an old name for the Isle of Man, was associated with the God Manannan, lord of the under-sea. The Celtic Elysium existed beyond the seas,

or under the seas, or in the hollow hills, or in the abode of the *Sidhe,* the elder gods. The subterranean home of the earth gods was sometimes an abode of the dead. The Otherworld, shrouded by mist, was considered to be upon the same plane as the terrestrial realm and sometimes was conceived as an extension of it. There dwelt the gods and other supernatural beings. In its purely material delights this other world resembled the Mohammedan Paradise. It had, however, a spiritual aspect; and it conferred oblivion for a period of years upon its visitors. Some have thought the Celtic concept of Elysium was colored by Christian influence. The Celtic sensuous Paradise, however, differed considerably from the Christian Heaven.

King Arthur is typical of the hero whose return was confidently awaited. Sir Thomas Mallory wrote: "Yet some men say in many parts of England that King Arthur is not dead, but has gone by the will of our Lord Jesus to another place; and men say that he shall come again, and he shall win the holy cross. Many men say that there is written upon his tomb this verse: '*Hic Jacet Arthurus Rex Quondam Qui Futurus*' [Here lies Arthur, a former king and a future one]." The island of Avalon, or Apple Island, whither Arthur was carried to be healed of his wounds, was later identified with Glastonbury, famous for its Druid circles. Into this Elysium no tempest, no excess of heat or cold, no noxious animal entered. It was blessed with eternal spring and with fruits and flowers requiring no tending; it was a land of eternal youth, unvisited by death or disease:

> Where falls no hail or rain or any snow
> Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
> Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows.

There have been many versions of the Arthurian legend. The Breton peasant located Avalon in Tresgastet, a small island off the coast of Cotes-du-Nord. Fishermen who gazed at the mist-covered islet thought of the hero who, refreshed by his long repose, would return to the world and right all wrongs. It was believed also that King Arthur was slumbering beneath the lionlike mass of Arthur's Seat, on the outskirts of what is now Edinburgh. In medieval Germany, Arthur was said to live with Feliei and the goddoss Juno, to ride at the head of a night host, and to dwell with his men-at-

arms in a mountain. In Sicily he was referred to as Gervase of Tillbury and was said to dwell in Mount Aetna.

A similar motive was associated with Merlin. In a legend of Breton origin, his mistress enclosed him in a tree, sometimes surmised to have been on Sein, a little island off the Bec du Raz and said also to have been the scene of his birth. Cornishmen believed King Arthur took the form of a raven. Perhaps this concept was the basis of Cervantes' reference: "an ancient tradition, universally received over the whole kingdom of Great Britain, that he did not die, but that by magic art, he was transformed into a raven; and that, in process of time, he shall reign again, and recover his kingdom and sceptre: for which reason it cannot be proved that, from that time to this, that any Englishman has killed a raven."

In Ireland Arthurian romances were related at Lummeghmast, of Earl Gerald; at Killarney, of the O'Donoghue; at Ardee, of Garry Geerlaugh; in Donegal, of an anonymous warrior. Each would some day save Erin. It was said that once every seven years Earl Gerald rode round the Curragh of Kildare. His horse, like that of Arthur of Cadbury, had silver shoes. When the hero fell asleep, they were half an inch thick; when they were worn as thin as a cat's hair, a miller's son with six fingers on each hand would blow a trumpet, and Gerald would do battle with the English.

Similar Scotch heroes were Bruce, on Rathlin Island, and Finn and his folk, in Inverness. In Sutherlandshire and the Isle of Man anonymous heroes played the role. Comparable stories were told of the robber chief Dobocz, in the Carpathian hills; King Wenzel, in Bohemia; Dietrich, in Alsace; Siegfried, at Geroldseck. In Wales, on the north side of the Great Mountain, Mynydd Mawr, near Llandilo, there is a cave in which Owen of the Red Hand, Owen Lawgoch, one of the last Welsh chieftains who fought against the English, lies asleep with his men. A blast from a trumpet and the clang of arms on Rhywgoch will waken them; they will arise, defeat their Saxon foes, and purge the land of them. In the Vale of Gwent similar beliefs attach to Owen Glendower, who disappeared below the horizon of history in 1415. The folk, however, know that he and his men sleep on their arms in Castle Cave, Gogovy Ddinas, in the Vale of Gwent, and thus it shall be until England is self-debased. They will then sally forth to reclaim their country and will restore the privileges and the crown to the Welsh, who shall thereafter retain them until the Day of Judg-

ment. At Devil's Den, an opening at the foot of a mountain in the Isle of Man, there is a great prince who has not known death and for six hundred years has been spellbound within the mountain. Tradition was that King Harold did not fall at Senlac but was alive and would drive out the Normans. English sailors shared and perpetuated the belief that "Drake's in his hammock, All's well with the world":

> Drake he's in his hammock till the great Armadas come,
> (Capten, art tha sleepin' there below?)
> Slung atween the round shot, listenin' for the drum,
> And dreamin' arl the time o' Plymouth Hoe.
> Call him on the deep sea, call him up the Sound,
> Call him when ye sail to meet the foe;
> Where the old trade's plyin' an' the old flag's flyin',
> They shall find him, ware and wakin', as they
> found him long ago.

When Drake's Drum would be heard in the land, there would be war. It is said that the British heard it in 1914 before the outbreak of the First World War. Similar beliefs were associated with Nelson, hero of Trafalgar. Alfred Noyes' poem, "The Admiral's Ghost," told of a Devonshire tradition that Nelson was the ghost of Francis Drake.

A comparable German hero was Friedrich Barbarossa (1152-1190), who lost his life in Syria during the Crusades. According to legend, he slept in the Kyfhäuserberg, seated at a stone table, his long beard entwined around its legs. Every hundred years he would come out to ascertain whether his people need him. If the ravens were about the Kyfhäuserberg, he would know all was well, and would return to his retreat to sleep peacefully for another hundred years. In 1284, during the eleventh year of the reign of Rudolf, an aged man who resembled the dead Barbarossa claimed to be that emperor. He said he had not died but had retired to a monastery. This false Friedrich, who appeared in Cologne, had a large following among the Ghibbelines in Germany, but was found guilty of sorcery and was burned at Wetzler on July 7, 1285. During the following century other imposters claimed to be the returned German emperor. The belief prevailed in Apulia and Sicily that Friedrich had not died but would return by way of Lyon to Ferrara. Salimbene, a thirteenth century Italian writer, attributed the belief to the fact that Friedrich's brother, Konrad, who

closely resembled him, had appeared in Germany. In 1348 Johann von Winterthur wrote that people in every walk of life believed Friedrich would soon return to reform the Church, and institute a reign of righteousness. Then "the poor woman would become the wife of the rich man, the witless would mate with the wise." The tradition that all wrongs would be righted when Barbarossa would hang his shield on the limb of a pear tree was at least as old as the fifteenth century. A poem of 1474 rejoiced that:

> Fortune will desert us,
> The Sibyl speak no truth,
> Until Kaiser Friedrich hangs
> His shield on the tip of a bough;
> Then will the prophecy be fulfilled
> In heaven and on earth.

One version of the legend said that Barbarossa would slumber surrounded by his knights, until the time came to sally forth and raise Germany to first rank among nations. According to another version, he would lie in the Untersberg near Salzburg. When a dead pear tree, thrice cut down, should plant itself afresh, bud and blossom, the gallant Rothbart (Barbarossa) would come out into broad daylight, hang his shield on the bright-flowered bough, and throw down his gauntlet as a gauge to evil-doers; aided by the good and chivalrous few who dwell in this bad world, he would vanquish cruelty and wickedness, and usher in the golden age which the worthy have long anticipated. The ballad of Rückert, beginning, "*Der alte Barbarossa*," written in 1817, has become a classic:

> His beard it is not flaxen,—
> Like living fire it shines,
> And groweth through the table
> Whereon his chin reclines.
> As in a dream he noddeth,
> Then wakes he, heavy-eyed,
> And calls, with lifted finger,
> A stripling to his side.
> "Dwarf, get thee to the gateway,
> And tidings bring, if still
> Their course the ancient ravens
> Are wheeling round the hill.
> For if the ancient ravens
> Are flying still around,
> A hundred years to slumber
> By magic spell I'm bound."

David Jayne Hill attributed the power of Kaiser Wilhelm II largely to the concept of the Kaiser as the embodiment of the Friedrich Barbarossa legend: "Barbarossa had at last awakened from his long sleep and come forth from the mountain fastnesses which had hidden and guarded his tomb until the day of his deliverance, and his spirit had become reincarnated in the new Emperor." Hill quoted a German writer: "It was as if the golden lute of Walter van der Vogelweide sang again softly through the ruined castles; as if unseen hands touched the bells in the weather-beaten cathedral, and a glint of the morning rose over the consecrated cities. There was a rushing in the deep, as the treasure of the Niebelungen moved in the green house of the water; there was a thrill in the air, as if Siegfried's horn sounded in the distance."

Expectation of Barbarossa's return persisted among the peasantry of Southern Germany. On March 23, 1919, the Berlin newspaper, *Der Tag*, declared: "Old Barbarossa in the Kyfhauser is not dead; he is only slumbering. He will awake and his awakening will be terrible"—to the enemies of Germany, of course.

The hardships of Poland stimulated messianic ideals and politico-messianic movements among Poles, who conceived salvation as three-fold: social, political, and religious. They pictured a time when downtrodden nations, especially Poland, would be free from the aggressor. Many heroes posthumously played the role of the liberator. In the fifteenth century an aged and saintly white-bearded hermit, with six toes on each foot, was said to be Ladislas I, King of Poland and Hungary, who was believed to have been killed in battle by the Turks at Varna. A visiting Pole gazed upon the supernumerary toes and fell upon his knees, hailing the hermit as his king. The old hermit, however, humbly confessed his sins, wrapped his long mantle about him, and went away weeping.

Many Spaniards have refused to believe that Roderic, or Cid Campeador (died 1099), last Gothic king of Spain, was actually dead. The manner of his death was a mystery. After the fatal fight with the Moors, his sandals and horse were found by the river bank. His body was probably carried out to sea. Spanish Goths insisted that he would return, healed of his wounds, and once more lead Christians against the infidel. Washington Irving wrote: "A mystery has ever hung, and must ever continue to hang, over the fate of King Roderic, in that dark and doleful day of Spain. Whether he went down in the storm of battle, and atoned

for his sins and errors by a patriot grave, or whether he survived to repent of them in hermit exile, must remain matter of conjecture and dispute." Legends, nevertheless, continued to add details to the hero's whereabouts. According to one account, Arab horsemen who were traveling the mountains hunting for fugitives found a shepherd in royal robes. They believed him to be King Roderic and brought him to the conqueror. The rustic said that while tending his sheep he was visited by a cavalier who rode a wearied horse, and in an authoritative voice commanded the shepherd to exchange garments with him. He clothed himself in sheep-skin, took the shepherd's crook and his provisions and continued up the mountain toward Castile. Many cherished the idea that their monarch lived and would redeem Spain. They believed the king and his followers had taken refuge in an island of the "Ocean sea." Years passed and nothing was heard of Don Roderic. His name, however, like that of Sebastian of Portugal and Arthur of England, was long a rallying point for popular faith.

Perhaps the Roderic legend inspired a similar one in Portugal which had as its hero the Portuguese king, Dom Sebastian. In spite of the fact that Dom Sebastian left the Portuguese in a worse plight than he had found them, his campaigns in Africa raised hopes of a great empire. In the eyes of his countrymen he became an undying hero. The people thought him not dead but in hiding, waiting for the day when he should restore Portuguese prestige. So persistent was this conviction and so realistic the hope of his return that several pretenders claimed to be the returned Dom Sebastian.

Pretenders advanced their claims during a period of unexampled national disasters when the Portuguese seemed to have lost not only independence but also courage and heroism. During Spanish oppression, desire for Portuguese autonomy and faith in the preservation of independence were reviving. Belief in the return of Dom Sebastian became widespread, though at first the number of the credulous was small. The belief stimulated patriotic zeal and strengthened the growing resistance to the Spanish intruder. Under such circumstances appeared the first false Dom Sebastian, so-called King of Pennamacor. The second false Dom Sebastian was Matheus Alvares, King of Ericeira, who professed patriotic sentiments that probably were genuine. Ten years later a third Dom Sebastian with similar pretensions and similar zeal

appeared. Each hoped to free the land from the Spanish ruler, Philip II.

The first of these impostors, Sebastian Gonzales, was the son of a tiler of Alcobra. After a profligate life, he retired to a hermitage near Pennamacor. He emerged in July, 1584, and declared himself King Sebastian, claiming that he had escaped after the battle of Alcacer Quiber, and had spent the interval in prayer at the hermitage. Upon learning of the miseries of his people, he had decided to leave his retreat and remedy their ills. Accompanied by the self-styled Dom Christavao de Tabora and the "Bishop of Guarda," he collected money in Pennamacor. The trio were arrested and paraded through the streets of Lisbon. Gonzales was sent to the galleys for life and the "Bishop" was hanged. The following year Matheus Alvares, son of a mason at Ericeira, declared himself the lamented Dom Sebastian, to whom he bore a resemblance. He promised to marry the daughter of Pedro Affonso, a rich farmer, whom he created Count of Torres Novas. The prospective father-in-law advanced the impostor a large sum of money. With this he raised a corps of eight hundred fanatical followers, but was defeated by royal troops sent by the Cardinal-Archduke. The pretender and Pedro Affonso were hanged and quartered in Lisbon. Although the severe punishment meted out to these two impostors checked the appearance of others in Portugal, many still believed Dom Sebastian would reappear. Meanwhile, stories of the monarch's reappearance spread beyond Portugal. Two other attempts to impersonate him were made, one in Spain and one in Italy. The one impostor was a handsome young man, Gabrial Espinosa, who strikingly resembled the former King of Portugal. He was accepted as Dom Sebastian by Madugal, a Portuguese Jesuit, who introduced him to Donna Anna, a natural daughter of Don John of Austria, and convinced her of the genuineness of his claims. The wealthy Donna Anna showered favors on the young man and his sponsor and advocated his cause before Philip II. The deception, however, was too patent to gain many supporters. In 1594 Espinosa and his clerical advisers were executed.

In 1603 Marco Tullio, a poor Calabrian peasant who could not speak Portuguese, asserted that he was Dom Sebastian. When he went to Venice, the Spanish Ambassador had him arrested as an impostor and a criminal, but the authorities of Venice, not un-

willing to embarrass the Spanish Government, refused to punish him. Tullio's story was noised abroad so widely that the enemies of Spain were eager to set him up as a thorn in the side of Philip III, then on the throne. The Prince of Orange sent Don Cristavao, son of the Prior of Crato, to Venice to make further inquiries, and at a solemn public examination the Calabrian repeated that he was indeed Dom Sebastian. Although the authorities ordered him expelled, they gave no opinion regarding the truth or falsity of his claims. Disguised as a monk, Marco Tullio went from Venice to Padua, and thence to Florence, where the Grand Duke of Tuscany arrested him and delivered him into the custody of the Spanish Viceroy at Naples. He was imprisoned in the Castle del Ovo, publicly exposed, and sent to the galleys. Even there, he made converts. He was, therefore, transferred to San Lucar, and eventually was executed.

Russian folklore stimulated the belief that Alexander of Macedon was still alive. "Whomsoever Tsar Alexander of Macedon might go to combat, he would conquer, and he numbered under his sway all the kings on earth." In the Norse *Volospa,* Balder returned from the dead and ruled over the descendants of two survivors of the human race. Old Norse belief in Balder's return was attributed by Sir John Rhys to Christian and Biblical influence. Balder would come to make all things new in a new heaven and a new earth. As *Malachi* prophesied that "the sun of righteousness" should "arise with healing in his wings," so Balder would return and heal all sorrows.

In one legend it is related that ravens brought news from all quarters to the Teutonic god Odin (Woden). During his intervals of rest, his abode was the mountain Valhalla, residence of the dead. When the Norsemen made Odin the supreme god, Valhalla became his citadel. Enthroned as king of fallen warriors, he sent for his wish-maidens, the Valkyries, to bestow victory on his proteges and bring slain warriors to his castle. Another tradition was to the effect that Balder, son of Odin, would return to deliver mankind from sorrow and death. He would come amid decay of a wicked world. In glory and joy the old kingdom would be renewed. Doubtless as a result of this early Teutonic background, Icelandic belief pictured some of the dead, especially certain individuals who had appealed to the imagination of the folk, as still alive in the tumuli in which they had been interred. For example, Gunnar

of Hlitharendi, killed in 990, was reportedly seen by moonlight in his open mound, in which four lights were burning. His countenance was joyous. In a voice audible at a considerable distance he was reciting a verse about himself. Later, the poet Thorleif, who had died at about the same time, came out of his burial mound and assisted a shepherd lad to complete a verse in honor of the poet's dead self. As the shepherd was rousing from his vision, he caught a glimpse of the poet disappearing into the burial mound.

According to one story, those who fell in battle were awakened by Hild each night so that they could resume the conflict. This nightly strife continued for nearly a century and a half, until the end of the tenth century, an anonymous collector of the Edda poem said, "It was a belief in old times that persons were born again, but that is now called an old wife's delusion." In Iceland, belief in the reincarnation of heroes survived until the thirteenth century. Thorgils, distinguished in that century, occasioned much rejoicing to the men of his district, for "it seemed to them that Kolbeinn was born again and come back to them [in the person of Thorgils], whom they had always longed for." In the Gautreks-saga, berserks who wish to annoy Starkath call him a "reborn giant." King Olaf the Saint was a reincarnation of a remote ancestor, Olaf of Geirstathir, known as Geristathir. Once when the king was riding by the gravemound of another Olaf, an attendant asked him, "Tell me, my lord, were you buried here?" The king replied, "My spirit never had two bodies, and has not now, nor will it have at the resurrection." The retainer reminded him, "It has been said that when you came to this place before, you spoke thus: 'Here we were and here we walked.' " The king denied having said this, but immediately rode away. When the grave of King Olaf was opened, his beard and nails had grown. Those who touched the body could perform miracles. Olaf was later canonized.

After the death of Olaf Trygvason (Olaf I, King of Norway, 969-1000), the belief persisted that he was alive and would return to his kingdom. Presumably he had not been drowned during a sea battle but had saved himself by diving under the keels of the enemy's vessels. The faithful believed that, like Arthur, he was dreaming away the time in Avalon, patiently awaiting the day of return. Another version stated that he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and lived long as a hermit in the Holy Land. Again, it was said, Olaf Trygvason was in his ship, the *Long Serpent*, when he

espied a man far off in a boat. He commanded the rowers to overtake him. Though they were in the fastest and most famous ship ever built, it was hours before they overtook the vessel. When they drew near, Thor, for it was he, said: "If my brother had been with me, you would never have overtaken me; but Weird (Fate) will have her will." The old god then drove his foot through the bottom of the boat, and sank beneath the waters. For Olaf Trygvason was the enemy of "the old way," and rang the knell of the pagan gods, whom he drove from his court and the land.

"Much was hoped, supposed, spoken, but the truth is Olaf Trygvason was never seen in Norseland more," was the sad plaint of an old mourning skald by Halfred Vandreda:

> It never was the will of fate
> That Olaf from such perilous strait
> Should 'scape with life! this truth may grieve—
> What people wish they soon believe.

The battle with the Danes in which Trygvason disappeared was commemorated in verses which have been set to music and constitute a popular Norwegian song, beginning:

> Broad the sails o'er the North Sea go;
> High on deck on the morning glow
> Erling Skjalgsson from Sole
> Scans all the sea toward Denmark:
> "Cometh never Olaf Trygvason?"

Danish sailors called large algae the "beard of Olger the Dane," who, they believed, had returned to the surface of the waves after confinement in a subterranean cavern. Credulous folk believed that Olger, or Ogier, the Dane, contemporary and ally of Charlemagne, took ship one night from France and was not seen again for a hundred years. According to tradition, the interval was spent on a beautiful isle in the company of a lovely fairy. Under her enchantments time passed quickly and he never thought of his earthly duties. Not until the crown was playfully snatched from his head did memory return, and with it a desire to regain his old home. When he arrived in Paris he found everything changed. Not Charlemagne, but Hugh Capet was on the throne. He fought the Moors, won fresh laurels, and returned to Paris with great honors. After the death of the king he was betrothed to the queen. But on the eve of their marriage the jealous fairy came to claim him and transported him to Avalon. "There in com-

pany with the great King Arthur of Britain, he still lives, and when his illustrious friend shall return to resume his ancient reign he will doubtless return with him, and share his triumph."

Belief in the return of the national hero has been illustrated also by the Esthonian Kalewipoeg, who sat in the realm of shadows with his fist in the rock, waiting until his country should be in extreme distress. He would then withdraw his hand, return to earth to avenge wrongs done the Esths, and make of this crushed people a powerful nation. Among French peasantry the belief prevailed for a long time that the Little Corporal, Napoleon Bonaparte, would return and restore France to its former grandeur.

Similar stories centered around Marko Kralyevich, for centuries the favorite Serbian hero. In Macedonia, Old Serbia (Kossovo), Shoomadiya, Bosnia, Hertzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Croatia, *gooslari* described him as a just man, hater of every injustice, avenger of every wrong, who successfully fought the Turks and other oppressors of Serbians. He was athletic and incomparably strong. His principal weapon was a mace made of sixty pounds of silver and nine pounds of gold. His charger, Sharats (Piebald), was the strongest and fastest horse in the world, with almost human intelligence. His master shared his wine with him and treated him as his best friend. Marko, often rude and cruel to others, especially to Turks, was a respectful and tender son to his mother, the good, wise, and patient Yevrossima (Euphrosyne). He was a hard drinker, but was never intoxicated. When he started on an expedition he took with him a skin filled with red wine, which he placed on one side of Sharats as counterweight to his heavy mace on the other side. He feared only God. He dared to refuse requests of Tsar or Tsarina, but chivarously acceded to requests of young women. Marko did not die, continued the songs of the *gooslari.* From time to time he would awake to see whether his sword had of itself come out of the rock into which he plunged it to the hilt. By this sign, he would recognize that the time had arrived for his reappearance among the Serbians.

One legend told of his settlement of a dispute over succession to the throne, when Serbia was torn by contending factions. Another related his contest with a powerful Albanian giant, whom he fought and killed. Before this contest he was summoned from prison. His hair touched the ground, and one-half of it could be used as a mattress and the other half as a blanket. His nails were

so long that he could plow with them, his face was as black as coal. When the Tsar asked, "Art thou still alive, Marko?" he answered, "Yes, still alive, but hardly living!" Once while Marko was riding through the mountains on his horse, Sharats, he asked his adopted brother, Voyvoda Milosh, to sing a song which would refresh his spirits. Milosh begged off on the score that this would enrage the witch or *Veela* of Miroch, who would surely kill them. Marko insisted, and the brother sang. The song was echoed back by the wicked witch, who then sang a song of her own, and shot an arrow into the throat of the brother and another into Marko's heart. Marko pursued the fleeing witch and struck her down with his golden mace. She implored the hero to spare her life, and promised that if he should do so, she would gather herbs to heal his brother's wound. This she did. After the treatment Milosh rose with a heart stronger and a voice more beautiful than ever. When the *Veela* met her sister witches that night she advised them not to harm warriors if Marko, with his piebald horse and his golden mace. was one of the party.

Many legends told of Marko's horse, Sharats, the hero's inseparable companion. According to one tale, Marko procured the steed from a *Veela.* Another version was that Sharats had been a foal suffering from leprosy. Marko tended and cured him, and later taught him to drink wine. Another tale was that Marko selected the horse from among several grazing in a field. To test them, he lifted them by the tail. Sharats, when seized by the tail, did not budge. Although Marko exerted all his strength, he could not force the animal to move. This wonderful beast was well trained. He would kneel to save his master from an adversary's lance, and rear and strike the enemy's charger with his forefeet. When thoroughly aroused, Sharats would spring upward to the height of three lengths of a lance and forward the distance of four lance-lengths. From beneath his hoofs glittering sparks flew. The earth on which he trod cracked and sent stones and fragments in all directions. His nostrils exhaled a quivering blue flame that terrified all who saw it. He bit off the ears of the horses of the enemy and crushed and trampled to death the Turkish soldiers. When riding through the mountains Marko might peacefully doze or sleep. He was always safe, for Sharats kept careful watch. Sharats shared with his master many a victory. Marko, "a dragon mounted on a dragon," never rode another horse. According to a

Serbian national song, Marko's sure-footed Sharats stumbled one morning. Marko, astonished, asked him what the omen signified. Sharats could not talk, but shed tears. The fairy Raviyoyola then announced from the clouds that Sharats had stumbled and shed tears because he saw death approaching; Marko had completed the three hundred years of life allotted him and the time to die a natural death had arrived. Marko chose a green place under two tall pine trees, visible from the road. He could not leave his faithful Sharats, who for one hundred and sixty years had been with him in heroic exploits, and it was fitting that they should die together. He killed his charger and buried him "better than he had his own brother Andreas." He broke his sword into three pieces, his lance into seven, and from the top of the mountain Corvina he threw his mace across the hills into the sea, and shouted: "When this mace comes out of the sea, then a hero, such as I am, may again appear on earth." On his person were three leather belts filled with gold ducats. The first he left to the one who should discover his dead body and give it a decent burial; the second, to the Church; the third, to the blind and lame, so that while they traveled about the world they would remember Marko and sing his deeds. He then spread his green coat on the grass, crossed himself, and sat down never again to rise.

According to legend, Marko would sleep until the day of destiny should summon him to liberate Serbia. One version held that he would sleep in a great cave and by his side Sharats would eat wheat out of a huge bag. When his steed should consume all the grain, Marko would rouse himself, mount the horse, ride forth to give battle to the enemies of his people, and banish every wrong. Another version related that his resting-place was a vault under the black mountains which overhang Prilip, where he was born. His sword was implanted in the rocky walls of the vault, wherein Sharats nibbled patiently at the ever-growing moss. Slowly the stone was worn away, and the sword-blade laid bare. One day it would fall to the ground. Then Marko would awake and reappear, sword in hand, mounted on Sharats; he would gather the Serbs around his banner, lead them against the Turks, and vanquish these enemies forever.

This tradition was echoed in modern times. On November 5, 1912, at Prilip, home of Marko, the Serbians attacked the Turks without waiting for orders from commanding officers, and stormed

heights previously considerable impregnable. When reproached for this recklessness they replied: "Kralyevich Marko commanded us all the time, 'Forward!' Did you not see him on his Sharats?" The soldiers believed Marko had returned from his cave at Demir Kapu to restore their country to them. This Serbian vision of Marko Kralyevich was strongly reminiscent of Theseus: "In succeeding ages," says Plutarch, "besides several other circumstances that moved the Athenians to honor Theseus as a demigod, in the battle which was fought at Marathon against the Medes, many of the soldiers believed they saw an apparition of Theseus in arms, rushing on at the head of them against the barbarians." The stories of Marko's exploits have stimulated the Serbian national spirit, and this spirit in turn has kept the stories alive. For example, during one terrible retreat in the First World War, the last act of some Serbian soldiers before retiring from Kralyevo to exile and probable death was to gather round a blind *goosla*-player to hear the national epic.

Few historical facts are known regarding Marko. One source says that when Vukaslin usurped the throne, Marko, a vassal of the Turks, championed the cause of Urosh and gathered about him a band of free-lance warriors with whom he had many adventures.

Marko died, by one tradition, in 1394, at the age of a hundred and three. Another tradition fixed his life-span as a hundred and sixty years. No sword or club could kill him; but when he saw a gun and witnessed its deadly effect, he forthwith retreated into a hidden cavern, convinced that even his giant strength could not cope with this modern device. One tale has it that Marko's mother grew tired of washing his blood-stained shirts and begged him to refrain from fighting. Accordingly, he followed the more peaceful pursuit of plowing—not the fields, but the roads along which Turks transported merchandise. When Turkish merchants attacked him, he killed them with his plow, took their gold, presented it to his mother, and said: "There, dear mother, is what I have plowed for you today. Once he wished for a huge stone from Avala: It moved across the mountains to him and fell to the earth at Tresuja, where it can be seen today. He could travel through the air with miraculous rapidity and jump incredible distances. When he was wounded, eagles brought water in their beaks and restored him to life. It was impressed upon Marko that he must never tell an untruth. His mother taught him never to lie on be-

half of anyone, not even for his father. Better lose one's country than tarnish one's veracity—*pereat natio, vivat veritas.* His adherence to truth cost his father not a cherry orchard, but the throne of Serbia. One incident of Marko's life was recorded in the following words:

> Marko hied him to Novak the Smith. "Forge me a sword, O Novak, such as never before thou hast forged!" And Marko gave him thirty ducats and rode away to the new wine-shop. For three or four days he drank wine and back went he then to Novak. "Hast forged me the sword, O Novak?" And Novak brought him the sword and said softly: "Here are the sword and the anvil. See what a sword it is!" Marko swung up the sword in his right hand and struck it upon the anvil and cleft the anvil in twain, saying: "So help thee God, Novak the Smith, hast ever forged a better?" And Novak answered: "So help me God, Kralyevitch Marko, a better one have I forged and for a better warrior. Such a sword forged I for Musa the Albanian that when he struck it upon the anvil not a scrap of the anvil was left whole." Then was Marko angered. "Hold out thy hand, Novak," cried he, "that I may pay thee for the sword." Then Novak betrayed himself. The serpent hit him [i.e., misfortune seized him]. He thrust out his right hand. Marko swung his sword and smote off his arm at the shoulder. "Look thee now, Novak, thou shalt never forge a better nor a worse!" And he mounted his horse and rode away.

As Aldous Huxley commented: "Serbians, in their folk songs about Kosovo . . . commemorated a natural disaster—but commemorated it as good Serbians; proud of their race, excelling in the valor of the national heroes, hopeful of deliverance from the oppressors." Louis Adamic has pointed out that the Serbians, "composing and endlessly singing and reciting the ballads of the Serb Mother, of Marko and many other legendary figures, created a Homeric atmosphere and developed an 'unsubduable soul,' a sense of power through tragedy. They turned defeat and slavery into a promise of victory and liberation." Nearly a hundred songs about Marko have described his life and heroic deeds from birth to death. His fame enchanted Bulgars and Albanians, who considered him a perfect Balkan knight, unrivalled in strength, beloved of the nymphs for his beauty and of the eagles for his valor.

Montenegrins have believed that Ivan the Black, who ruled their land in the latter half of the fifteenth century, slept in a cave near the fortress of Obod, and that he would awake and expel the Turks from Europe. A similar belief, probably a variant of the Friedrich Barbarossa legend, was held in Armenia: Mcher, a giant hero, who was killed but continued to live in a cave in the mountain-side, would return to the Armenians "when plum-trees bear wheat and wild-rose bushes barley."

The Barbarossa motive was transferred, little changed, to the Slovene legendary king, Matyazh, a peasant monarch who according to tradition ruled over Slovenia wisely and justly, long ago. He was devoted to the interests of his people and maintained peace with neighboring folk. His peasants cultivated their land and cherished their families in undisturbed contentment. Powerful forces attacked the Slovenes and overwhelmed Matyazh and his small army. He collected the scattered remnants of his forces and marched them into a great cavern in the hills. There were several versions of the manner in which Matyazh spent his time. One was that he sat at a marble table in the center of a huge cavern, his gray beard twining around the legs of the table. Most of the time he slept, for he was old and wearied from his long reign and exhausting wars. Occasionally he stirred, gazed at the faithful warriors who guarded him, smiled, and resumed his slumber. Some day he would rouse himself, reform his army, leave the hollow mountain, sweep away the ills which encompass Slovenia and the world, and resume his reign of peace and good will. Under him the peasants would again work without fear and raise their children unmolested by outside foes. According to another version, Matyazh would leave his cavern when Antichrist comes and sows in the fields money instead of corn, rye, and wheat. By still another account, a powerful young hero, some say a native Slovene, others, a foreigner, would enter the cave and pull from its sheath the immense sword which hangs on the wall. This act would rouse the sleeping king, and with the aid of the young newcomer he would lead his army against the forces of evil.

Elements of the Barbarossa legend have survived in other tales. On some wondrous Christmas night when the ground was covered with snow, a tall green linden tree would suddenly grow at the entrance to the cavern. It would bloom from midnight until one o'clock, and its sweet scent would fill the air throughout Slovenia and even beyond. Winter would make way for Spring, and at the end of the magic hour the tree would shed its blossoms. The king would then come forth with his army, banish all foes, and restore peace, justice, and prosperity to the land. "But that day," the tale concludes, "probably still is far off."

Possibly, as Alexander H. Krappe suggests, the monarch sleeping in the interior of a mountain is a sort of humanized Kronos. The ancients described a Kronos exiled on a lonely island in the Atlantic; and classical lores perhaps inspired these West and Central European stories.

Chapter IX

RETURN OF THE CULTURE HERO

In nearly all cultures, primitive and civilized, men have seen their main characteristics as those of some individual of their distant past. Prometheus and Moses were typical of such culture heroes. Belief in the return of the hero, as discussed in the preceding chapter, has been found among many peoples.

The Samoyed culture hero, after his defeat by Christ and the devil, went to a land across the seas, from which, the natives believed, he would return, reunite the Samoyed, and drive away their oppressors. The British Columbia Thompson Indians said Coyote would return and restore the Indian dead from the land of shades. Tsalsabec promised the Labrador Naskapi that he would return to earth and destroy evil. In preparation, he selected men in various parts of the world to execute his commands. Montagnais said that before Tsalsabec disappeared he promised to return at the end of time. Gluskap, when he bade farewell to the Micmac, said, "If there should be a war between you and any other people, I shall come back to help you." He went to the other side of the North Pole to make bows, arrows, and other weapons in preparation for the day when the white man should assail the Micmac.

Originally, according to a Passamaquoddy legend, all species of animals had the same language, but they were wicked, Kuloskap deserted them, and their language became confused.

Nenebuc, the culture hero of the Timagami Ojibwa of Quebec, went west, to stay there until three years before the end of the

world, when he would travel over the entire world to see once more the animals and the Ojibwa.

The Chippewa maintained that their culture hero, Manabazo, would again appear and play an important role in the final disposition of the human race. The Oglala Dakota mythic hero, Falling Star, who performed miracles in behalf of the people, promised, at his departure, that he would return to the Oglala when they were in great need.

Belief in the return of the culture hero has been reported also for the Maidu, Menomini, Sia, and many other tribes in the New World. The Cochiti, a Keresan people in the Southwest, said that Montezuma would return to deliver his people from their conquerors. Until that day the Indians, in accordance with the wishes of Montezuma, should keep their distance from the whites, preserve the esoteric character of their cults, and resist all innovations. The young people did not anticipate the return of Montezuma, but old people sprinkled corn for him toward the east. They thought he would come from the east, whence also Quetzalcoatl was expected in the empire ruled by an historic Montezuma. A few years ago an aged Mexican came to the pueblo of Cochiti, declared he was Montezuma, and presented papers to prove his claims. The governor of the pueblo, described by Father Dumarest as an old man and one of the most intelligent Indians he had ever met, seriously asked the missionary whether the papers were valid.

According to the Papago of southern Arizona, a former chief called Montezuma at first treated the people well but later abused and murdered many of them. Three times the survivors killed him, but each time he revived after an interval of four days. Finally they induced Yellow Buzzard to dispose of him with an iron arrow. Montezuma remained dead for four years. His spirit ascended to the sun, where he plotted revenge and sent to earth a man who brought pinole mixed with burnt feathers. The man who ate the pinole was transformed into a great bird which preyed on beasts and men. In despair the people appealed to the risen Montezuma, who killed the bird and its sleeping offspring. Despite these deeds, distrust of Montezuma persisted. Finally, he allowed the country to be conquered and the population to be exterminated. After that he went to Mexico, where he was sealed in an underground house. Possibly the legend was carried into New Mexico by Indian servants or others during early Spanish

expeditions. Another legend related that Montezuma returns to Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico, at the New Year, to dance La Conquista with his men in the court of the palace, and to bestow wealth on fortunate pilgrims. Otomi and Zapotec say Montezuma bestowed health and crops upon those who made offerings to him.

Most recorded manifestations of messianism among American Indians have been subsequent to contact with whites and may, perhaps, be attributed to direct or indirect Christian influences. The Aztec messianic concept, however, antedated the introduction of Christianity. "I say," declared Nazahualcoyotl, the Aztec poet king, (exiled 1418-1431, ruled 1431-1472), "being a Mexican, that our rule began to be destroyed . . . The darkness of the sepulcher is but a strengthening couch for the glorious sun, and the obscurity of the night but serves to reveal the brilliance of the stars." Another poet exclaimed: "The disdained and the slaves shall go forth with song; but in a little while their oppressors shall be seen in the fire, amid the howling of wolves." During Montezuma's reign supernatural and prophetic events were believed to herald the return of the hero, Quetzalcoatl. According to one account, he had promised to return in a year that had the same position in the Toltec fifty-two year calendrical cycle as the year in which he left (in our calendar, for example, 1756 has a position similar to 1556). He wore feather garments to conceal his ugliness, of which he was much ashamed.

In 1510, without an accompanying earthquake, tempest, or other unusual phenomenon, Lake Texcoco was violently agitated, overflowed its banks, inundated the streets of Mexico City, and destroyed many buildings. In 1511, without apparent physical cause, a turret of the Great Temple broke into flames. Along the eastern horizon spread a strange light in the shape of a pyramid with its apex almost touching the zenith. Mysterious and doleful wailings suggested impending calamity. These signs induced Montezuma, in 1519, to regard Cortez as the fulfillment of Quetzalcoatl's prophecy that white men would come from the sea and from the direction of the rising sun. The Aztec king greeted the Spaniard with the words:

> I have been perturbed for many days now, ever since I cast my eyes toward that unknown land from which you have come, the land of clouds, the country of the mists. For this my ancestors told me long ago: that some day you would return and sit once more upon your ancient throne.

Although Cortez resembled Quetzalcoatl—who was said to have had a white skin, large eyes, long dark hair, and a long shapely beard—the Spanish visitor did not behave according to the teaching of Quetzalcoatl. For the god had taught that men should be chaste and moderate in all things. Neither human beings nor beasts should be sacrificed, but bread and flowers—objects which typified peace and repose.

For more than two centuries Peruvians accepted the tradition that the last Inca had not died but had gone to a kingdom beyond the mountains, and that he would return and drive the Spaniards from the land. In 1781 a mestizo, Condorcanqui, a descendant of the Inca line, proclaimed himself the long-lost Tupac Amaru, descendant of the Sun and the Inca. He was hailed as deliverer and sovereign and the imperial fillet of the Incas was placed on his forehead. He led a large army to the walls of Cuzco, the capital of the former Inca Empire, and announced that he would exterminate the white settlers. Even the memory of them should be wiped out. He would reestablish the old Peruvian empire in Cuzco, the City of the Sun. For two years he warred against the Spaniards. Eventually the Indians were defeated; the Inca and his family were captured and sentenced to death. When he went to his execution, his followers prostrated themselves before the man they believed to be the last of the line of the Children of the Sun.

Bantu tribes of East Africa believed that their mythical King Kintu came from the north, and brought with him a cow, a goat, a chicken, a banana root, and a sweet potato. These increased miraculously and soon supplied food for the entire country. Later Kintu grew tired of the people's stupidities and bloodshed, and left them. He did not die, however, and for generations the people attempted to discover his whereabouts. Eventually a king, Ma'anda, claimed that an aged man found seated on a throne in the forest was King Kintu. His followers, as light-skinned as the white man, wore white robes. But because Ma'anda had caused bloodshed, Kintu and his followers vanished. In Rundi, Central Africa, natives said the last ruler, Moon, disappeared long ago and went to live in the moon. They expected his return from the north; and in fact they welcomed the German ethnologist Oscar Baumann as the returned Moon Pale-face, for he was a white man and came from the north. The Lamba, of Rhodesia, believed

their creator, Lesa, known also as Luchyele, would some day return. Originally he came from the east, finished his work of creation, went to the west and climbed to heaven by means of a ladder. To certain selected individuals he gave the message that they should await his return, even if it should be long delayed. Natives believed that Luchyele would surely arrive, for he promised the people that he would send them the sun each day. This he had done, and consequently he would fulfill his other promise. The dead were waiting for Luchyele to lead them out of ghostland. The Ovambo claimed that their supreme God, Kalunga, formerly lived with men on earth. He left them, after telling them that they should there await his return. When he arrived, all the people were away, hunting. When they came back, he asked them where they had been. "Hunting," they said. This angered Kalunga, who declared: "You have not obeyed me. Hence you shall always remain here. You must live by hunting, and others will be your masters. In sorrow you will wander about, seeking the necessities of life."

Many believed that Mokana, the South African messiah, was immortal; indeed his generation passed away before his tribesmen acknowledged that he was dead. During three subsequent wars they expected him to appear and lead them to victory. The expectation of his return to the South African Bantu lasted until 1873, when his mats and ornaments, which had been carefully preserved, were buried. Many were reluctant to pronounce the name Mokana and resorted to the circumlocution Nxele, "the Left-handed." This was *Linkseh* in Dutch, and became *Lynx* in English, the name given Mokana in South African colonial records. "The coming of Nxele" passed into a proverb, implying, "You are looking for something which you will never see." The Ashanti, according to Robert S. Rattray, had the "strongest disinclinations to record the defeat or death of any of their Chiefs in war. Stool [that is, Chief's] histories are, on this account, full of all sorts of evasions. When we hear of a Chief going to war and disappearing into 'a rock' or 'a river' with all his Elders and Stool regalia, we may be pretty certain that he was killed, and that his army was defeated. Fiction thus crowds upon fact in a manner that is disconcerting to the student in search of trustworthy information." One chief who was defeated escaped by turning into an elephant, which roamed the district and was well known to many of the local inhabitants.

A legend, almost certainly aboriginal in origin and somewhat resembling the Jewish story of Elijah, was current in the King Sound district of northwest Australia. Long ago, according to tradition, a stranger taught the natives the rite of circumcision and relieved them of the scourge caused by the poisonous breath of a monster. He then departed, but left his name to designate the surgical operation which to the present day is performed on males. His name, Elaija, is known as far east as Port George IV. The tribe had been so weakened by disease that the old men called him back and begged him to remain with them. Elaija, however, took from the dillybag of his female companion a stone, the *kadabba*—a remarkable similarity to Semitic *kaaba*—carved in the shape of a mutilated male genital organ. The old men who gazed upon this stone were frightened, and appealed to Elaija, but he had vanished. The stone remained in the possession of the tribe. Its divine properties, given to it by Elaija, forestalled the threatened extinction. The natives continued to circumcise all young men, to make their organs like the *kadabba* of Elaija; and the *kadabba* became a sacred object with revered procreative power.

The Hawaiian god Lono, or Rongo, a culture hero, departed the island long ago, but his return has been confidently expected. Some said he was a king of the remote past who, after instituting games to commemorate his deceased wife, embarked in a triangular canoe for distant lands and was never seen again. Before taking leave of his people, he said to them: "I will return in after times on an island bearing coconut trees, swine, and fowl (or dogs)." After his departure his countrymen deified him and in his honor held annual boxing and wrestling contests. When Captain Cook visited Hawaii in 1778 the natives accepted him as the returned Lono. The priests draped a sacred red mantle over his shoulders and prostrated themselves before him. They offered him pigs, clothing and everything suitable for a god, led him to a temple, and worshipped him. Later, in a brawl, he bled, and they said, "No, this is not Lono," and killed him. Some, however, believed he was Lono and would return. Accordingly, they put his ribs and breastbone into a little basket covered with red feathers and deposited these remains in a temple dedicated to Lono. They revered the relics, and each year priests carried them in procession to several temples on the island when they collected offerings for the support of Lono's worship.

Chapter X

MILLENNIAL CHRIST AND THE ANTICHRIST

During the first century of Christianity, belief in the near advent of Jesus gradually grew into hope for the attainment of heaven in case Jesus did not appear during one's lifetime. The Ebionites, a first-century group of Jewish Christians, believed Jesus to be a revived Moses. Their dogma combined characteristic Jewish concepts with the belief that Jesus, though merely an incarnation of the Christ, was the awaited messiah. Cerinthus, an Ebionite scholar, rejected the theory of the preexistence of Jesus and predicted the millennial reign of the messiah in Jerusalem, where he would triumph over Antichrist. A restored Jerusalem, said Justin, would be the capital of the messiah's kingdom. Believers, patriarchs, and prophets would enjoy happiness there for more than a thousand years.

The Elkesaites (Elchasaites), a sect of the Ebionites which arose about 100 A.D. east of the Jordan, held that Jesus had appeared many times—that he had emerged as Adam in the Garden of Eden and subsequently in many other personalities or phantom shapes. Jesus of Nazareth was one incarnation; and Elkesai (founder of the sect) was the last notable manifestation. Elkesai, himself, did not make this claim. He had already declared that the Son of God had appeared to him in the form of a being of enormous proportions. His followers then elaborated this concept: Christ was an angel ninety-six miles in stature, accompanied by an angel of like dimensions; and, according to one saying, a gigantic angel had brought their sacred book to Elkesai.

About the beginning of the second century, at Ardaban, a

Syrian village, Montanus prophesied that in the near future Christ would reappear at Pepuza, in west Eumenia. Accordingly, he named the town "Jerusalem" and assembled his adherents there. Marcion, who went to Rome about 140, taught that there were two Christs. The Old Testament referred to one who would be the representative of the Old Testament God. Jesus was the son of the God of the Hebrews, offspring of the good God, and should not be identified with the descendant of the God of the Covenant. Marcionites believed the Jewish messiah would establish a millennium on earth. The Euchites a sect sprung from Syrian Monachism, which flourished from the fourth to the sixth centuries, taught the effulgence of the divine spirit. "If an angel, a patriarch, a prophet, or Christ himself is named to him [a Euchite], he will reply to each case: 'That am I myself.' " The doctrine appears to be another version of the belief entertained by Eucharists that after Jesus' death, leadership of the messianic movement in Judea was assigned to James, brother of Jesus, and for several generations went to the oldest living representative of his family. The Euchite claimed to be Christ, for prayer brought him into direct communion with the Godhead, which resided within him.

During the time of Irenaeus and Julius Africanus, the messiah was expected in the seventh millennium. Later doctrine held that the messiah would appear in the middle of the sixth day, 5,500 years after creation. In the fourteenth century social and political ills, civil wars, the double election of Emperors, and the Black Death—all of which were interpreted as signs of divine wrath—inspired the sect known as "Friends of God" to predict the Second Coming or the End. Sabatniki, Sabbath Honorers, a Russian sect which arose in Novgorod about 1470, and which continued to have a few followers, proclaimed the early advent of the messiah.

During the fifteenth century, preachers in Bohemia announced the approach of the millennium. They declared that Prague would be consumed by fire from heaven and that the elect should find protection and safety in other towns. Christ would descend and establish a kingdom in which there would be no master or servant, no sin or poverty, and no law except that given by the free spirit. These preachers insisted that church sacraments were not essential to salvation of the elect. In 1476 Hans Böhm claimed a mission from the Virgin Mary. In the early part of the century, Conrad Schmidt, member of a branch of the Brethren of the Cross, an-

nounced himself an incarnation of Enoch and prophesied the approaching fall of the Church of Rome. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century Hans Hut announced that the millennium would begin on Whitsuntide, 1582. He built his hopes on the impending Turkish invasion which heralded destruction of the German Empire. During the invasion his followers were to hide, reappearing when the Turks had completed their work.

Sixteenth-century social reform was largely inspired by the Anabaptist movement. Thomas Munzer, whom Luther had sent to determine the legitimacy of the claims of the prophet Nicholas Storch, announced in Prague the dawn of a new era in which social grievances would find redress. Munzer, after he returned to Saxony, instituted a divinely ordered society. As a result of Luther's opposition Munzer was banished, but he spread his doctrines in Nuremberg and Switzerland, and returned to Muhlhausen through districts in which the Peasants' War was raging. Many believed his claims were valid and that God was directing him. His views were championed by Melchior Hoffman, a leatherdresser from Swabia, then proselyting east of the Baltic. Hoffman had calculated that the end of the age would come in 1536, a prediction made before he learned of the activities of Munzer. Although the millennium did not arrive, he nevertheless remained hopeful and revised his calculations from time to time. In 1531 Hoffman suspended baptism for a period of two years, because the Lord was about to assume the government of Strassburg, usher in an era of peace, and relieve the oppressed. Early in 1533 he returned to Strassburg to be present at the Lord's arrival. His message caused intense excitement. He was thrown into prison and confined there until his death ten years later.

In 1533 excited Anabaptists poured into Munster, Westphalia, convinced that the hour had come when Christ's kingdom would be established in that city, which would then become the New Jerusalem. Jan Matthys, who had been a disciple of Hoffman, declared himself the promised prophet Enoch. He ordered resumption of baptism in final preparation for the coming of the messiah. Obediently, thousands were baptized. In January, 1534, two of his missionaries entered Munster. They baptized Bernard Rothmann and other leaders and announced the setting up of an earthly kingdom in which there would be no courts, laws, marriage, or private property. Catholics and Lutherans fled and the

city fell into the hands of the Anabaptists. Matthys proclaimed Munster the New Jerusalem and invited all oppressed Anabaptists to come to the city. Thousands who sought to reach this haven were destroyed on the way or were ruined in Munster. Soon the city was besieged by the forces of the Bishop and neighboring princes. Within its walls murder, polygamy, and crime ran riot—if we are to believe unsympathetic contemporaries. One account states that Matthys declared himself a second Gideon; but when he and his followers issued forth to vanquish the enemy, they were killed in the fray.

Jan Bockhold, or John of Leyden, a gifted young man, assumed leadership of the theocracy when he was twenty-five years of age. He claimed to be the successor of David, and demanded royal honors and absolute power in this New Jerusalem. He announced that polygamy was permissible and himself took four wives, one of whom—showing rather less delicacy than the Protestant Henry VIII—he later beheaded with his own hand in the market-place. Declaring that the time of oppression had passed and that the sword must be drawn, he summoned true believers to subjugate the kingdoms of the world, especially Munster. In 1535 Munster was captured and the Anabaptists were tortured and massacred.

Meanwhile Mohammedanism was affected by prevailing Christian hopes. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, as the end of the first millennium of Islam approached, there were expectations of a mystic regeneration of the Faith and the beginning of a new order—concepts borrowed from or reinforced by Christianity.

The most important millennial movements of the century, however, flourished in England during the Protectorate. The Fifth Monarchy Men, a Puritan sect, at first supported Cromwell, for they believed the Protectorate heralded the "Fifth Monarchy." (This was the period referred to in *Daniel*, when Christ would reign with his saints on earth for a thousand years.) The Fifth Monarchy men soon decided, however, that Cromwell did not deserve their allegiance; indeed, he was Antichrist. They revolted, and on July 8, 1656, they met and adopted a resolution to the effect that the saints must pull down Babylon, "the time to be now, and the means by the sword." Information was to be obtained from their members as to "what readiness they are in . . . what

force they have, what arms, what money, and when to be ready." Among the events of Thursday, April 9, 1657, Thomas Carlyle recorded the following:

> The Fifth Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner, a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long time been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness [i.e., Cromwell] have had eye on it. The Fifth Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expell carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as heaven might work in such a case, and the reign of Christ actually take effect.

Samuel Pepys witnessed the execution of General Thomas Harrison after the Restoration. Harrison went cheerfully to his death, declaring he would return in the flesh to accomplish his mission on earth—a belief shared by his faithful wife. Pepys writes under date of November 15, 1662: "Great talk among people how some of the Fanatiques do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day." During these troubled times several other sects proclaimed the coming of the millennium. About 1653 Arise Evans announced that the kingdom of Charles I was doomed. Some two years later he renewed the warning, and was imprisoned. At the outbreak of the Civil War divine revelation instructed him to support the Established Church and to attack the General Baptists.

Another prophet stimulated by these stirring times was Anna Trapnel, whose public activities began about 1643. In 1650 she joined the All Hallows, a sect sympathizing with the Fifth Monarchy Men. Three books of her prophecies were published after dissolution of the Nominated Parliament. She was most active in the year preceding the death of Cromwell. Her prophecies, in crude meter, were uttered during trances, with such rapidity that only with great difficulty could they be written down. She was merely the Voice. the Poor Instrument. When the "three and one-half times were fulfilled," Christ would return, she predicted.

As a reaction to the influence of the Flagellants, the Skoptsi, or Castrators, arose in Russia about 1700. They ardently awaited the millennium, and believed that Christ would return when their

number had reached one hundred and forty-four thousand. Those who would enter the order must submit to extreme self-mutilation. Skoptsi professed great respect for the husband of Empress Catherine, Peter III, who was murdered in 1762, kept pictures of him, and expected his return to earth as the messiah. According to one tradition, when the number of one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins (referred to in *Revelation* [14:1], and interpreted by the Skoptsi to mean their followers) was complete, Christ Selivanov would come from Siberia. He would ring the great bell in Moscow, gather around him all Skoptsi, defeat Antichrist when he advanced from Turkey, and establish a Skoptsi kingdom on earth. Then would come the end. In 1873 a Skoptsi Christ in Rumania founded a sect known as the New Skoptsi; this sect, however, acquired little influence.

In 1770, while Ann Lee, a leader of the Shakers, was in an English prison, a revelation disclosed to her the nature of sin and the reality of eternal life. Christ was said to be incarnate in her, and her followers accordingly called her Mother Ann. A century later, in 1870, a medium who had communicated with Mother Ann at a seance in Enfield, Connecticut, exclaimed: "Why! the whole heavens are subject to her. The Angels go and come at her bidding. She is self-sacrificing in the extreme for the good of souls." A writer observed in 1910: "That was her character when on earth, then why not in the spheres."

John Barclay, who founded the sect of Bereans in Edinburgh in 1773, discovered in *Psalms* numerous references to the messiah, and so, he asserted, had the apostles. He translated *Psalms* into English verse which revealed in each line the messianic aspiration attributed by him to the original version. In 1799 Joseph Priestley published an address upon the Jews in which he announced their early return to Palestine. All religious sects would be united and a reign of glory would follow. Signs of the fulfillment, said Priestley, would be the destruction of the Pope, the Turkish Empire, and the kingdoms of Europe. He claimed that Nelson's victories fulfilled predictions in the nineteenth chapter of *Isaiah*, and that Napoleon was the promised liberator of Egypt. William Godwin entertained a similar belief in the near coming of the kingdom, that blessed day when "there will be no war, no crimes, no administration of justice, as it is called, and no government. There will be neither disease, anguish, melancholy, nor resent-

ment. Every man will seek with ineffable ardor the good of all. Mind will be active and eager and yet never disappointed."

The founder of the Southcottians, Joanna Southcott (born in Devonshire, England, about 1750), discovered when she had passed the age of sixty that she was pregnant with the messiah, whom she named Shiloh. To those who professed faith in her mission, Joanna gave a sealed writing bearing her signature which she claimed protected the possessor against calamities on the day of judgment and assured him signal honor from the messiah when he should return to earth. "Her followers made costly preparations for the birth of their expected prince, and had a cradle constructed at an expense of two hundred pounds." The disease by which she was deceived caused her death. Her disciples, though compelled to bury her, persisted in the belief that she would bear the Shiloh, and announced that she would arise with the child in her arms. In accordance with her directions, and in expectation of the birth of the promised Shiloh, her followers kept her body warm for four days after her death. The inscription over her grave in St. Marlebone churchyard recorded the expectation of her return:

> While through all the wondrous days
> Heaven and earth enraptured gaze,
> While vain sages think they know
> Secrets thou alone canst show,
> Thine alone will tell what hour
> Thou'lt appear in greater power.

The Southcotters' stronghold was the northern counties. They had a splendid temple at Ashton-under-Lyne, erected at a cost of nine thousand pounds. Their worship was wild and tumultuous. The men wore long beards and brown hats. They awaited the commencement of the thousand-year reign on earth, when Christ would come, not in person, but in spirit. The "sealed" who died before that time would be raised from their graves to partake of this happy state.

About 1780, Mother Buchan, the wife of a Glasgow workman, declared the millennium was near at hand and promised that her followers would not die, but be taken above to meet the Lord. The sceptical would be struck dead for a thousand years and believers would possess the earth with the Lord for a thousand years. On her death-bed, in 1791, she stated that she was the woman described in *Revelation* as clothed with the sun. She said that she

had been on earth since the time of Jesus and would never die. She would sleep a while, then awake and lead her followers to the New Jerusalem. Her followers refused to bury her corpse, which they left exposed until decay compelled them to put it into a coffin. This, according to one account, they kept in the corner of a barn until neighbors obtained an order from a justice of the peace to bury it. In dying, Mother Buchan exhorted her followers to continue steadfast and unanimous in her doctrines, for she had given convincing proof that she was the Spirit of God, that Christ was her elder brother, and that consequently she was the third person in the Godhead. If their faith was pure, she would return to them at the end of six days. The Buchanite sect survived the death of the founder by a half-century—the period after which she had said she would return. With her failure to return there were no more converts and by the middle of the century the sect had disappeared.

Lady Hester Stanhope, as her party was approaching Jerusalem in 1812, recalled a prophecy made some years previously by a fortune-teller: she would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, pass seven years in the desert, and as Queen of the Jews lead the chosen people. The first part of the prophecy was being fulfilled, Lady Hester laughingly said several times, and now she could look forward to the fulfillment of the remainder. In later years she was inclined to attach importance to the words of the fortune-teller. Perhaps, therefore, there was some basis for the report that she announced the coming of the messiah and kept in her stables two Arabian mares, which were not to be mounted until the second advent. She said:

> All sects have predicted the coming of a Saviour Messiah; this event, it is foretold, will be preceded by the overthrow of most of the kingdoms of Christendom: the work has already begun, and we may soon expect its completion. For is not the world in a state of revolution? Have not kings been driven from their thrones? Hundreds and thousands of distressed persons will come to me for assistance and refuge. I shall have to wade up to here [waist-high] in blood; but it is the will of God, and I shall not be afraid. The advent of the Murdah [mahdi] has occupied the minds of many people, and I think unsuccessfully. M. Lamartine talked about religion to me. I told him—"Does not the Testament say, 'But there is one shall come after me, who is greater than I am'—who is that?" He hummed and hahed, but could make no reply. Is he not to appear as an earthly king, in honor and glory? The Jews expect him, the Turks expect him, the Ansarias expect him; all expect him but the Christians.

Edward Irving (born in Scotland in 1792), founder of the Irvinites, wrote *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty,* in which he declared Christ would reappear and rule in person on earth. Irving's mission was the "ingathering of the nations." He said that the signs of the approach of the day of Christ would be "gifts" of inspired prophecy. He sent evangelists into highways and byways, through Europe and North America, to spread the gospel and testify before nations and kings to the coming of the Day of the Lord. The church of the Irvinites was divided into twelve tribes, under a central governing body of forty-eight members. A congregation was presided over by its "angel," or bishop. The liturgy, adopted in 1842, was taken from the Roman, Greek, and Anglican liturgies. The last "apostle" died in 1901.

An unusual form of the Second Adventist belief was exhibited in the faith of the Christadelphians. This designation was chosen, members of the sect said, because the name "Christian" was associated with everything anti-Christian. As the name signified, members of the sect were Christ's Brethren. They did not regard themselves as a new sect but alleged that they were the Christian sect everywhere attacked during the first century. They proved their identification with early Christianity by the likeness of their practice to the Apostolic original. They owed their origin largely to John Thomas (born in London, April 12, 1805, died in New York, March 5, 1871). The brotherhood had several "companies" in England and the United States. The largest was at Birmingham, England. The creed and articles of faith declared that God would restore the kingdom of Israel in Palestine, bequeathed for an everlasting possession to Abraham and his seed by covenant. To this end the Jews should be gathered, the Holy Land reclaimed, and Jerusalem rebuilt, for it would become the throne of the Lord and "the metropolis of the whole earth." To effect this, at the close of the days of the Gentiles, God would send Jesus in person to earth with power to overthrow all other forms of government and establish on earth an all-inclusive kingdom, over which he would reign. Administration of this kingdom would be vested for all generations in the approved and immortalized Brethren of Christ, that is, the Christadelphians. The kingdom would last a thousand years, during which time sin and death would continue among men, though these foes of mankind would be greatly restrained. During this millennium war would be abolished and the

earth would be filled with "the knowledge of the glory of Jehovah as the waters cover the sea." At the end of a thousand years, concluded the Christadelphians, the wicked would be annihilated and those who had been "approved" would become immortal.

After careful study of the Bible, particularly the prophecies relating to the messiah, William Miller, an American, announced in 1831 that Christ would appear in Canaan amid clouds of glory and would rule on the throne of David for a thousand years. He said that the two thousand three hundred days referred to in *Daniel* indicate years. The seventy "weeks" preceding the First Coming began in 453 B.C. This date, subtracted from the two thousand and three hundred years assigned by *Daniel*, gave the date 1843—allowance was made for the four years' error in dating the beginning of the Christian era—as the year in which Christ would appear. When the prediction was not fulfilled, Snow, a disciple, pointed out that Miller had made an incorrect calculation, the exact date being October 22, 1844. As this day approached, followers put aside occupations and prepared for the expected advent. Again they were disappointed. In a conference at Albany, New York, in 1845, they nevertheless made a dogma of their faith in the proximate coming of Christ in the flesh. Schisms have divided them into six independent sects, in each of which belief in the near approach of the Second Coming is a fundamental tenet of the faith.

Friends of the Temple, established as a sect in Wurtemberg in 1861 and shortly thereafter in Palestine, also expected the early return of Christ. The Overcomers, who organized as a sect in Chicago in 1881, held views similar to those of the Adventists and Friends of the Temple. Like the latter, members of the sect migrated to Jerusalem, where they became the American colony in Jerusalem. There they added a few converts. They accepted the prophecies literally and maintained a communal way of life.

The Theosophists emphasized reincarnation: Christ would be reborn, indeed, had been reborn many times. In December, 1925, the theosophical Order of the Star in the East, organized in Los Angeles in 1911 to prepare for the approaching visitation of Christ to earth, made preparations to greet the Savior in the person of Krishnamurti, a young Hindu, then at Adyar, Madras, India. During the coming Christmas season, Krishnamurti would be hailed as the human vehicle and manifestation of Christ, re-

turned to earth. A sixth "root race" was making its appearance on the western slopes of this hemisphere and also in Australia. Dr. Stone, national secretary-treasurer, cited statistics to the effect that new physical characteristics were appearing in children of the present generation, to support his contention that a new "root" people were about to occupy the earth. The "New Christ," Krishnamurti, would be the teacher of this new race. A general representative was scheduled to leave Los Angeles on June 1, 1926, on a four-month tour of the United States to lecture on the return of Christ through the vehicle of Krishnamurti. It was also announced by Dr. Annie Besant, president of the International Theosophical Society, that a conference of theosophists would be held at Ommen, Holland, during the next Christmas season. All nations would be represented, and theosophists anticipated that the new world teacher would manifest himself to this assembly. An international university with a central institution at Adyar and four branches in widely separated portions of the world would be established, with Krishnamurti as its head. The university would develop all fields of learning. A branch of it would be located in the Ojai valley of southern California, where an option on land was then held; other branches would be established at Sydney, Australia; Ommen, Holland, and Madnapalle, India, birthplace of Krishnamurti.

During the First World War and the post-war period there was a deluge of books, pamphlets, and articles dealing with the millennium. The war aroused in many non-Adventist hearts hopes and expectations of the proximate return of the messiah. The public, both lay and clerical, became more receptive to such expressions than in ordinary times. Scott Anderson, formerly a pastor in Los Angeles, was heralded as one who "gives a Scriptural interpretation of the great war and describes the glory that is to follow the early inauguration of Messiah's kingdom." In an address in Fresno, California, on July 29, 1917, he said:

> Messiah will not compromise with Satan concerning the rulership of the world, and this great tribulation [the First World War] is permitted for the complete overthrow of the adversary and all the evil institutions instigated by him among the children of men, and not one vestige of them will remain. The lease of power to the Gentile nations expired in 1914; Satan is moving out and Christ is moving in—hence the great commotion incident to the transfer of world dominion. "The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ."

An advertisement in the Fresno, California, *Morning Republican* of April 27, 1919, bearing the title, *WHAT THE WORLD WILL BE LIKE IN THE YEAR 2919 A.D., Millennial Doctrine a Fundamental of Christianity*, declared:

> Mr. Davidian claims that the only solution of earth's troubles will be found in the Millennial reign of Christ, during which time the whole world will be gradually lifted up, up, up to human life and perfection, until every stain of sin and corruption is wiped off the face of the earth; that the outcome of Messiah's rule will be the most perfect and righteous government of the people, by the people and for the people, and which shall not perish from the earth.

Two years previously, in June, 1917, a similar doctrine appeared in a paper of the German Lutheran Church, *Zeichen der Zeit* (*Signs of the Times*), published at Brookfield, Illinois. "The end of all things approaches, indeed is at hand," declared an article entitled "The Approaching End." The writer cited *Matthew*, 24:33, and *II Peter*, 3:3-4, in proof that the end would be preceded by catastrophes, and pointed to signs that the Second Coming was near at hand. "Everywhere there is the fiery warning: 'Christ comes; justice will return; the day of his wrath is near.' "

These were not isolated tendencies. Many churches accepted the view that the millennium was near. One writer estimated that in about ninety per cent of the Bible summer schools assembled in 1917, the millennium was openly or surreptitiously exploited. "It is," he declared, "being taught from hundreds of pulpits, and Bible classes all over the country are led by devious windings through the sacred literature to this certain goal of the teachers' exegesis." A war extra of the *Bible Students Monthly* declared: "We are today in the closing hours of the period allotted by God for the selection of the Church, and 'THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND,'—now in the full sense of its establishment in the earth: The institutions of 'this present evil world' are passing away in a great Time of Trouble, and soon the Lord will establish His Kingdom of Righteousness, which will deal out justice to all humanity." The founder of this publication, C. T. Russell, untiringly proclaimed the coming of Christ in the near future. When he died in 1916, Judge Joseph F. Rutherford took over the leadership. He said that Christ had come to earth in 1914, as predicted; that is, the Kingdom of God began to control the world

in that year. In 1920 Rutherford predicted that in 1925, Abraham, Isaac, and other prophets would return. Subsequently he persisted in the declaration that the Last Day would come soon, but ceased to give the date. In San Diego, Jehovah's Witnesses, as Rutherford's followers called themselves, built a handsome $75,000 Spanish home to accommodate King David, Isaac, Samuel, and the other prophets. The grounds contained date and palm trees, a setting designed to make these Biblical princes feel at home. The prophets, however, tarried in their non-terrestial haunts and until his death in January, 1942, Judge Rutherford occupied the mansion with his wife.

The Mormons were assured that Christ would not return until his city was built. Soon after its completion, he would return and the reign of the messiah would then begin over the world. Since its establishment in 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church) has been the especially chosen instrument of God for the "gathering of Israel," the founding of the "New Jerusalem," and the preparation for the coming of the "Kingdom of God," that must precede the Second Coming of messiah. Joseph Smith's statement, "We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this [the American] Continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and, that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory," was one of the "Articles of Faith" and one of the foundation-stones of the church. The *Book of Mormon*, contained many allusions to the New Jerusalem, and the gathering of Israel. In 1830 Joseph Smith, founder of the Church, conceived the idea of gathering the elect into one place in preparation for the "day of desolation." A little more than a year after the church had been organized, Joseph Smith was on his way to locate the "Land of Zion" in Missouri. While there he received a "revelation" designating Missouri as the promised land, and Independence as the "center place." The location for the temple was made known, and the "Saints" were commanded to buy the land and live there. On August 2, 1831, Zion was founded by the laying of the first log for the first house in the Promised Land. After these preliminary measures a minute description of the land of the proposed city was sent to the branches of the church in the East, and a revelation which contained the following statement: "And verily mine eyes are upon those who

have not as yet gone up unto the land of Zion; wherefore your mission is not yet full."

The "Saints" gathered in this land of Zion but were not permitted to build their city. The Gentile "old settlers" disliked these newcomers who differed from them in many ways, and soon their opposition stiffened. The Latter-day Saints were driven from the county and, finally, from the state. The leaders declared it a time of trial, a temporary scourging, to purify the "Saints." The rank and file, however, believed that the expected return of Jesus could not take place until the temple had been built in Jackson County, Missouri. To this temple Jesus was to return; and signs indicated that the Second Coming was near. During the first few years after the settlement in the Great Basin there was considerable agitation to return to Missouri. Brigham Young restrained the overly zealous and declared he would not go back until the Lord so commanded.

One Apostle of the Mormon Church compared the period of waiting to that which the Jews experienced before they entered the land of Canaan, and declared it a time for purification. "Zion shall yet be established on the chosen site, the pure in heart shall yet return." Mormon writers have computed the location of Missouri with respect to the remainder of the Western Continent and have shown that it was the "center stake of Zion." The custom of giving "patriarchal blessings," perhaps more than anything else, kept this idea alive. Thousands of men and women in the Church received the promise, through the Patriarchs, that they would go to Jackson County, Missouri, and assist in building the New Jerusalem and the temple. The conviction played an important role in their lives.

* * *

Early Persian and Scandinavian doctrine depicted a final struggle between good and evil. For more than two thousand years messianism has been associated with this concept: the world has been the scene of a struggle between two great contending forces, the powers of good, led by the messiah, and the powers of evil, led by Antichrist. Through association of ideas, the advent of Antichrist implied the advent of the messiah; evil days heralded the redeemer.

The Ethiopic *Book of the Mysteries of the Heaven and the Earth* describes Antichrist:

He will come forth having torn the womb of his mother, and he will kill his father, and he will sit upon a throne and will reign. And when the days of his reign are fulfilled, our Lord will come with His army. First of all Elijah the Tishbite will strike a blow on his chest, Joshua, the sun of Nun, will smite him on the forehand, and David, the harpist, will spear him in the bowels, and Peter will spear his horse, and Theodore and Claudius will break open his armour and will cut off his head, and John will spear his horse again. And there will be a mighty voice which will say, "I have killed, and I made haste." And the fire of the anger going forth from the mouth of the Lord shall kill him, and his army shall die with him. And Elijah shall bind on a tiara of gold, and Joshua shall put on a garment of green-gold brocade, and Peter a . . . gold, and John a white . . . and Theodore and Claudius red crowns, and David and the other saints fillets of gold. And after this the Resurrection and the Judgment shall take place.

Early Christians regarded Nero as Antichrist and King of the Jews. The Mandaeans, an early Jewish-Christian sect, believed Jesus was the chief evil spirit which had led mankind astray. Two hundred and forty years after the advent of Jesus, sixty thousand saints came from Pharaoh's realm to this world to replace the destroyed Mandaeans. During the time of St. Jerome the belief prevailed that there would be an interval of forty-five days between the destruction of Antichrist and the Last Judgment (*Daniel*, 12: 11-12). "Antichrist," said Anselm, "shall dig the ancient gods out of the earth and show them to the world anew." Members of the faction which Constantine refused to help dubbed him Antichrist. Greeks oppressed by Mohammedans cherished the belief that a former emperor, then sleeping, would return to resuscitate the Greek Empire, and Antichrist would pour retribution upon their enemies. During the Crusades the belief in Antichrist was intensified throughout Europe; and in subsequent centuries fanatics saw Antichrist or his forerunner in every ecclesiastical, political, national, or social opponent. On all sides, the catchword "Antichrist" was muttered. This abusive designation was bandied about during the struggles of Emperor with Pope, Guelf with Ghibelline, Franciscan with Papist, heretic with Church, reformer with reactionary. During the long contest of Frederick I with the Papacy many believed the German Emperor was the forerunner of Antichrist. The motive was recorded in sculpture and painting, and in lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry.

In the thirteenth century Franciscans and Almericans regarded the church as Babylon, and the Pope as Antichrist. John Wycliff

condemned the Papacy as the cursing two-headed Antichrist. The belief prevailed that Pope Alexander had not actually died, that he would be resurrected, resume his seat on the papal throne, and initiate the reign of Antichrist. John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, denounced Pope John XXIII, because of his sale of indulgences, as Antichrist. Rogers, a Fifth Monarchy Man, proclaimed Oliver Cromwell Antichrist, Man of Sin, Great Dragon. Roger Bacon called the Mongol soldiers the forces of Antichrist, come to reap a dreadful harvest. The belief was strengthened by a prophecy, erroneously attributed to St. Jerome, that during the time of Antichrist a race of Turks, polluted and unwashed, using neither salt nor wheat, would emerge from the land of Gog and Magog, beyond the mountains of Asia.

Despite opposition from the church, millennial theories revived during the Middle Ages. Under the influence of Joachim of Fiore, hope for a golden age spread, especially among the Franciscans, who held that the millennium would see the triumph of the Holy Ghost and that Christ would overthrow Antichrist. Even Sir Thomas More expressed dread of Antichrist. A Fugger news-letter written at Venice, April 14, 1592, reported as follows:

> This week a News-letter has been circulated here which is said to have been written by the Grand Master of Malta and divers other Christian princes. This News-letter reports that in a certain province of Babylon there has been born to a woman of evil repute a child whose father is unknown. The child is reported to be covered with cat's hair and to be a dreadful sight. It began to talk eight days after its birth and to walk after a month.
>
> It is said to have intimated that it is the Son of God. At its birth the sun grew dark at midday and on the previous night a mighty flame of fire appeared above its house. Many mountains opened, and in one of these there was seen a column covered with Hebrew script, reading: "This is the hour of my birth!" On the next day there fell from Heaven a goodly quantity of manna and precious stones; at other places, however, snakes and other horrible creatures . . . It is said that the Rabbis have come to the conclusion that this is the Child of Perdition, the Antichrist.

In 1599 a rumor prevailed in Europe that Antichrist had been born in Babylon, and that the Mesopotamian Jews acknowledged him their messiah. The rumor apparently originated in Italy or in Germany, then spread to Spain, England, and other countries of Western Europe, and brought anxiety to many. Some discredited the report, for the signs foretold in Scripture had not been fulfilled. In particular, the Roman Empire had not been destroyed.

Some, however, said that the majority of the signs had already appeared, and others might have occurred in distant regions. The Roman Empire existed only in name, ran the argument, and, furthermore, for many centuries the most learned and pious had believed in the near advent of Antichrist. Those who believed that Antichrist had come pointed to the persecutions of the Christians, to conflagrations, eclipses, and earthquakes. The news that Antichrist had been born produced such excitement that an edict of Henry IV forbade mention of the subject. In 1600 an exorcised maniac announced that in the neighborhood of Paris, the Man of Sin had been born of Blanchefleure, a Jewess who conceived by Satan. Later, a witch acknowledged, under torture, that she had rocked the infant Antichrist on her knees. He had claws on his feet, she added, wore no shoes, and spoke all languages. An announcement widely circulated in 1623 among lower orders of the church was, in part, as follows:

> On the first of May, in the year of our Lord 1623, a child was born in the town of Borrydot, otherwise called Calka, near Babylon, of which child the mother is a very aged woman, of race unknown, called Fort-Juda: of the father nothing is known. The child is dusky, has pleasant mouth and eyes, teeth pointed like those of a cat, ears large, stature by no means exceeding that of other childern; the said child, incontinent on his birth, walked and talked perfectly well. His speech is comprehended by every one, admonishing the people that he is the true Messiah, and the son of God, and that in him all must believe. Our spies also swear and protest that they have seen the said child with their own eyes; and they add, that, on the occasion of his nativity, there appeared marvellous signs in heaven, for at full moon the sun lost its brightness, and was for some time obscured.

In 1666 the Russian Church Council issued an anathema against the Rascolniks, staunch defenders of the old orthodoxy, and announced that the reign of Antichrist had begun. The calendrical date of the Council confirmed this statement, and identified the apocalyptic thousand years of Satan's bondage with the "number of the beast." Popular theologians were convinced. They stated on the authority of the same book that inasmuch as Antichrist would reign for three years, the end of the world, therefore, would come in 1669. The specified day varied from the eve of Whit Sunday to the eve of Quinquagesima Sunday. After the fatal nights and the year 1669 had passed and the world remained little

changed, the prophets became the butt of jokes and abuses. Protopop Avvacum, a prominent Rascolnik, explained that his prophecy about the reign of Antichrist was to be taken in a spiritual sense. Although Antichrist had not come in the flesh, he reigned in the spirit in the contaminated church. Possibly the Antichrist was the Tsar who cut off the ears of men, depriving them of their likeness to God; took a census in defiance of the Lord's prohibition; introduced the new calendar in place of the old one; married a heathen (a Protestant, Catherine I); caused her to be crowned Empress in the church; and daily committed sacrilege. Talizin, a Rascolnik merchant, first formulated these views in writing. He was arrested, tortured, and condemned to suffocation by smoke. Thousands, however, remained convinced of the truth of his assertions. Scores of thousands of peasants and town artisans, panic-stricken by the dread of Antichrist, and made desperate by hardships, fled to the Rascol settlements for bodily or spiritual safety.

In *War and Peace* Tolstoy stated that Russian peasants associated Napoleon Bonaparte and his invasion of Russia with concepts of Antichrist, the end of the world, and freedom. The Skoptsi considered Napoleon the son of Catherine II and the Devil. They believed that he lived in Turkey and would return as Antichrist. During the nineteenth century, in almost any Russian village a baby of unusual appearance, or a stranger who could not give a satisfactory account of himself, was likely to be considered the devil or Antichrist. In 1811, Russian authorities discovered in the province of Tamboy the sect of Stranniky, or Begumy (Wanderers), the keynote of whose teachings was the doctrine of Antichrist. The Tsar was declared the Prophet of the Beast. The two-headed Imperial eagle was the seal of Antichrist and the sign of the dragon. Co-religionists were taught that one who offered homage to the agents of Antichrist, paid taxes for their unholy purposes, allowed himself to be registered, or accepted a passport or any other document sealed with the Imperial emblem, excluded himself from the book of the living. He would be doomed to perdition as Antichrist's servant and abettor.

To the Stranniky, the Emperor's coronation was the "renewing of Antichrist." Efim, the founder of the sect, described the coronation as follows:

Then there come to worship him [that is, to offer him the oath of allegiance] those fierce fiends, the bishops, then the mock-popes, Satan's horses, who transport souls to hell, to their father, the evil one; next come the various foul apostolic sects, the Niconians first, then the Old Believers, the accursed Armenians, and the Pomorzy, who are hateful to God.

Those who zealously adhered to the letter of the principles of this sect wandered from place to place, paid no taxes, applied for no passports, gave no bribes to officials, and avoided all dealings with those whom they regarded as agents of Antichrist.

During the First World War a prophecy of the monk Frater Johannes, written about 1600, was frequently quoted in the United States. The prophecy was discovered, it was said, in an old parchment in the Convent of the Holy Ghost, at Wismar, Germany. It was pointed out in the American press that the prophecy could be interpreted by the following key: the Kaiser was a German Lutheran and had a withered arm; Germany was the Black Eagle; an eagle was the insignia of Austria, her ally; Russia was the White Eagle; France was the Cock; the British Empire was the Leopard. According to this prophecy, Antichrist would be a Lutheran and a monarch. He would pose as God's messenger or apostle and would swear by the Bible. He would declare himself the arm of the Most High sent to chastise corrupt peoples. He would have only one arm. His vast armies, whose motto would be "God is with us," would resemble the infernal regions. For a long time he would use craft and strategy. His spies would overrun the earth. Antichrist would sue for peace many times, but the seven angels who march before three animals of the land would have proclaimed that victory would not be given except on condition that Antichrist would be crushed like straw upon the threshing floor. These animals would not be permitted to cease fighting so long as Antichrist has soldiers. It would be made manifest that the combat, which would be fought out in that part of the country in which Antichrist forged his arms, was not a human conflict. The animal defenders of the lamb would exterminate the last army of Antichrist. Antichrist would lose his crown and would die in solitude and madness. His empire would be divided into twenty-two states but none of them would possess fortifications, armies, or ships of war.

Chapter XI

SUPERNATURAL ASPECTS OF MESSIANISM

Most messiahs have claimed supernatural powers and, generally, their followers have believed in such powers. Supernaturalism was an attribute of many kings and illustrious men. The appellation "Son of God" was applied to rulers in Egypt and Babylonia a millennium before messianism appeared among the Jews. It was used also in Assyria. The *Odyssey* states that Minos, king of Knossos, "from his ninth year talked familiarly with great Zeus." Appolonius of Tyana, a contemporary of Jesus, was commonly regarded as a descendant of the Egyptian god Proteus. At his birth swans sported in the meadow about his mother, and a thunderbolt descended from heaven and then went aloft. These happenings presaged the wonderful accomplishments which later distinguished Appolonius. Divine Augustus, ruler of Rome when Jesus was born, bore the title Dei Filius, "Son of God," and many wonders, wrote Suetonius, preceded and followed his supernatural birth.

That these Mediterranean cultures acknowledged the divinity of rulers was certainly common knowledge among contemporary Jewish and early Christian theologians. But quite apart from these influences, the Old Testament bears abundant testimony to the importance of supernaturalism among the Jews. According to the Bible, Jahweh sent a flood which destroyed most of the human race: placed the mystic rainbow in the sky: and spoke to Moses in crash of thunder, in lightning, and in wind. Disasters heralded the approach of the "day of the Lord." People generally expected

that the "great and dreadful day" would be announced by signs in the heavens and on earth, by rivers of blood, fire, and smoke, by a darkened sun, and by bloody moons (*Joel*, 1-2; *Acts*, 2: 17-21).

Jesus predicted that earthquakes, famine, and pestilence would accompany the birth pangs of a new order. The signs would be an eclipsed sun, darkened moon, falling stars, troubled air, roaring sea, and people stricken with terror. The numerous miracles attributed to Jesus are eloquent testimony of the importance attached to them in early Christianity. Perhaps, as was surmised by Reimarus, an eighteenth century theologian, the people in Jerusalem were awaiting a manifestation of the divine messiahship of Jesus, and a miracle would have had very great effect upon popular credence: "If only a single miracle had been publicly, convincingly, undeniably performed by Jesus before all the people on one of the great days of the Feast, such is human nature that all the people would at once have flocked to his standard." George Adams Smith has said of Jesus:

> When he went up to Jerusalem, it was still with the crowds, "the innumerable throng from the country," who would keep festival, and it was not a city which He addressed there, but a nation concentrated like a city beneath one man's influence. The mountains were around, the deserts lay near. Had He ordered them to the wilderness they would have followed Him as they followed the Egyptian and Theudas. Had he promised that the walls of Jerusalem would fall before Him and the Roman garrison be swept to the sea, they would have died for Him by their thousands as they died for others.

Miracles have frequently bolstered messianic claims. They increased the confidence of the messiah—which doubtless sometimes wavered—rekindled the faith of followers, converted the dubious, and fortified the faithful. Simon Magus, Samaritan by birth, who was so called because he practiced sorcery or magic, acquired fame in the first half of the first century A.D. and maintained it by means of miracles. His followers believed him a deity incarnate, and he accepted these honors and announced himself supremely divine. "I am of God, I am the Appearance, I am the Comforter, I am Omnipotent, I am altogether divine," are words attributed to him by St. Jerome. According to Hippolytus, Simon Magus at his own request was buried alive, confident that he would arise on the third day. Another account states that he attempted to demonstrate supernatural power by flying, fell in his flight and fractured his thigh and ankle bones, and in despair committed

suicide. Theudas, who during the reign of Claudius announced himself the long-awaited messiah, and was beheaded by Cuspius Fadus in 46 A.D., anticipated a miraculous establishment by God of the Kingdom of Israel free from Roman domination. Bar-Kokeba, the Jewish messiah who announced his claims in Syria about 130, puffed forth burning tow from his mouth. It was said also that he cast back the stones thrown by Roman engines upon his besieged men in Jerusalem. Contemporary Christians did not dispute the genuineness of these miracles. They explained them in a manner favorable to themselves. The fifth-century messiah, Moses of Crete, inspired such confidence in his ability to divide the waters of the sea and lead his followers dry-shod to the Promised Land that many, anticipating fulfillment of the promise, threw themselves from a promontory into the Mediterranean.

In 1167, the year in which David Alroy proclaimed messiahship in Fez, an Arabian also claimed to be the messiah and made pretensions to miracle-working. He declared himself a prophet sent by God, and suggested, as a test of the authenticity of his claims, that his head be severed from his body. He would revive. The king, willing to take the claimant at his word, applied the test, but the resurrection did not follow. Shortly thereafter, a Jew who dwelt east of the Euphrates and called himself messiah attracted a large following. He declared, in proof of his divinity, that he had been cured of the leprosy overnight. Subsequently he perished ignominiously and disaster engulfed his devotees.

Many other messiahs claimed supernatural powers. In 1176 David Almasser, a learned Moravian cabalist, declared that he could make himself invisible. In 1178 a Persian messiah wrought many miracles to mislead a deluded people. David el-David, a learned man who announced messiahship in Persia in 1199, was a magician of no mean pretensions. It was said that on the day of the birth of the Jewish messiah at Ossa, Turkey, in 1642, terrifying signs appeared in the sky; the sun was blotted out for eight hours at midday and a voice was heard over an area of a hundred miles, crying, "Repent, for today is the true Messiah born." Many fiery dragons and many devils were seen in the air. Sabbathai's followers insisted that he demonstrate messiahship to unbelievers by means of a miracle. Finally he agreed to do so. At his wits' end for a miracle, Sabbathai at last bethought himself of a novel action.

With a solemn gait and rapt gaze, which, as a contemporary record expresses it, he had "starcht on," Sabbathai stood for some seconds silent; then, suddenly throwing up his hands to heaven, "Behold!" he exclaimed in thrilling accents, "see you not yon pillar of fire?" And the expectant crowd turned, and in their eager, almost hysterical excitement, many believed they saw; many who did not see doubted their sight and not the vision. Those who looked and looked in vain were silent, hardly daring to admit that to their unworthy eyes the blessed assurance had been denied.

The Mohammedan mahdis reveled in miracles and nearly all of them claimed power to perform supernatural feats. To restore the faith of sceptics who were about to desert his cause, Ibn Tumart bade a few of his trusty followers submit to burial. He provided them with hidden reeds to enable them to breathe. He then called the doubtful to these graves and said he would demonstrate the bliss of the faithful. In response to questions, the buried faithful gave answers which left in the minds of those present no doubt of the joy in store for them if they, too, should remain steadfast. When the erstwhile sceptics had gone away convinced, this mahdi, reflecting that the dead tell no tales, filled the vents of the graves and lighted fires over them.

The role of miracles has been as marked in Christianity as in any other faith, and has continued until modern times. Cagliostro, the God on earth heralded by Cardinal De Rohan on the eve of the French Revolution, worked prodigious miracles. He was said to have made diamonds out of nothing and thus to have come into possession of unlimited wealth. On one occasion he collected his followers to witness his resurrection of the atheist Jean le Rond D'Alembert. D'Alembert appeared, a skeleton wrapped in a sheet, and assured the witnesses that there was no other world—presumably not even the one from which he had come. In 1781 citizens of Strassburg were astounded by the cures which Cagliostro performed. He said he had been a friend of Abraham and one of the guests at the wedding in Cana. Meanwhile he had learned the art of living forever. Cardinal De Rohan erected a marble bust of Cagliostro and placed on it an inscription describing him as God of earth. Shortly before this, during the reign of Louis XVI, the gates of the St. Medard Cemetery were closed by reason of the prevalence of miracles at a Jansenist's grave; it is said that the fol-

lowing inscription was placed over the gates: "By order of the king: God is hereby forbidden to work miracles in this place."

Antichrist is also expected to perform numerous and wonderful miracles. "The Man-fiend," says Rhabanus Maurus, "will heal the sick, raise the dead, restore sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb; he will raise storms and calm them, will remove mountains, make trees flourish or wither at a word." His vast wealth will be obtained from hidden treasures which demons are concealing until Antichrist shall want them.

The *Book of Mormon* (Chap. IX) declares: "God has not ceased to be a God of miracles. . . . And the reason why he ceaseth to do miracles among the children of men is because that they dwindle in unbelief, and depart from the right way, and know not the God in whom they should trust."

In preliterate cultures the supernatural also played an important role and has usually accompanied messianism. In Mexico, as in the Old World, the coming of the messiah was proclaimed by signs and portents. The waters of Lake Texcoco rose mysteriously, three comets appeared in the heavens, and a strange light shone in the east, whence the deliverer was expected. The Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, in proof of his divine mission, claimed power to cure all diseases and to thwart death on the sick-bed or on the battlefield. He was, he said, the returned culture hero, Manabazho. He promised that within four years he would bring two days of darkness, during which time he would travel invisibly throughout the land and summon the various animals which he had created in the remote past. Eclipses which visited the Ottawa and nearby tribes confirmed his claims.

Cherokee followers of the Shawnee prophet believed that a terrific hailstorm would destroy the whites and the Indian sceptics, but that the faithful would be warned in time to escape to the mountain tops. The Ojibwa had such faith in Tecumseh's ability to perform miracles that one party of natives brought the body of a dead child, which they expected him to restore to life. On the eve of the ill-fated battle with the forces of General Harrison, Tecumseh promised his followers that the Great Spirit would make the weapons of the American troops harmless and that their bullets would fall powerless at the feet of the Indians. During the night attack which he planned, the Indians would have abundant light, but darkness would envelop the white soldiers.

Sword-bearer, a Crow medicineman who claimed invulnerability and perhaps a messianic mission as well, declared that by riding around the United States troops, sent into the country of the Crow, he would reduce their hearts to water and send the troops back home. When he had twice encircled the troops and had ridden away, rain fell, and the troops returned to camp. Fulfillment of this prophecy enhanced his prestige. Later, after the first volley from the troops, Sword-bearer was felled by a bullet. The Shoshoni, the Arapaho, and the Cheyenne believed Wovoka, who initiated the 1889-1890 Ghost Dance movement, could resurrect the dead, make animals talk, and distant objects appear close at hand. He could make his enemies helpless by merely stretching out his arms. He could cause the earth to open and to swallow people. The Cree once sent messengers to Cough Child, the Sarsi leader of the messianic cult of the Ghost Dance, beseeching him to heal them; and an Indian came from Utah bringing his blind son, that the leader might restore his sight. Cough Child gave to each patient who was cured a white feather, and told the recipient to whiten his cheeks for protection whenever he heard thunder.

Chapter XII

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MESSIANISM

Although messianism has been widespread, it has not appeared in all cultures, and it has not been of equal importance at all times in any given culture. The number of known messiahs, excluding Negroes, has been very nearly equal in Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. Inasmuch as the Jews have been a much smaller group than the Mohammedans or the Christians, it follows that messiahs have appeared with much greater relative frequency in Judaism than in either of the other two religious sects. There was a high frequency of messiahs in Judaism in the first and twelfth centuries A.D., and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. The period between the ninth and twelfth centuries furnished many Mohammedan mahdis, but the peak was reached in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Christian messiahs have continued to appear from the sixteenth century to the present time. In each of these religious sects, probably messiahs have appeared of whom there are no extant records; and certainly some of the existing records have escaped the writer's search. The following table indicates, by centuries, the frequency of known messiahs (Negroes not included).

The messianic concept had only a few origins, but it has had wide dissemination and a unique expression in each culture. Its diffusion has been limited by the character of the culture. Only when conditions have been favorable has the concept appeared and reappeared. This has been true whether the culture was Jew-

FREQUENCY OF KNOWN MESSIAHS IN JUDAISM, MOHAMMEDANISM, AND CHRISTIANITY

Century (A.D.)	*Jewish*	*Mohammedan*	*Christian*	*Total*
1st	8			8
2nd	1			1
3rd				0
4th				0
5th	1			1
6th				0
7th	1			1
8th	2	5		7
9th	1	3		4
10th		4		4
11th	3	1		4
12th	8	5		13
13th	2	1	1	4
14th	1			1
15th		2		2
16th	7	1	5	13
17th	7	3	8	18
18th	5	3	8	16
19th	2	17+	13+	32+
20th (to 1940)		4+	11	15+
Total	49	49+	46+	144+

ish, Mohammedan, Christian, African, Oceanic, or American Indian. A social need, a prevalent messianic concept, and a responsive individual have been the usual preconditions to messianic manifestations.

The messianic concept was present in Egypt in the seventeenth century B.C., and probably earlier. It was recorded at about the same time in Babylonia, where the sacredness of kings was a prominent theme in politico-religious writings. Assyria inherited it from Babylonia and Persia. It was first clearly expressed by the Jews during the period of Assyrian domination, when they hailed Cyrus, Persian conqueror of Assyrians, as the messiah. There were many contacts between these cultures. Almost certainly the messianic concept passed from one religion to another, though one cannot demonstrate that it did not originate independently in the valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris-Euphrates and among the Jews. Certainly the Old Testament Jews were much influenced by Semitic Mesopotamian civilization. James H. Breasted believed the inception or at least the main stimulus of Jewish messianism came from Egypt by way of Syria or northern Arabia. The concepts of the

religious leaders of Judah and Israel were not isolated phenomena. As Chester C. McCown has demonstrated, the religious beliefs, social standards, and moral ideals of the Hebrews were a part of the total civilization of the Mediterranean world. Iran and early India had similar cultures, spoke similar languages, and exchanged ideas. The concept of reincarnation which developed among the Hindus and was the basis of the belief in the avatar or messiah may have been historically connected with the messianism of Iran. Hindu thought stimulated Buddhist concepts of reincarnation and these in turn paved the way for many messianic manifestations. The Romans had contacts with Egyptian, Iranian, and Jewish civilizations, each of which was a possible source of messianic inspiration. Roman messianism of the time of Augustus, Nero, and Vespasian did not originate in Rome but came from other lands. When Judaism was hard-pressed during Roman domination, messianic hopes, which had flourished under Assyrian bondage, were revived. Jews, scattered throughout the Roman Empire, carried with them the seeds of messianism. After the fall of the Roman Empire, migrant Jews carried the messianic faith with them; and every Jewish colony harbored it. The spread of Jewish messianism through Europe was synchronous with the migration of Jews into European lands.

The *Koran* showed much Jewish and some Christian influence; indeed Mohammedans regarded Jesus as a great and holy prophet, second only to Mohammed in importance. Mohammedanism from its inception encountered the messianic concepts of other cultures and was influenced by them. Diffusion of belief in the mahdi, the Mohammedan messiah, accompanied the spread of Mohammedanism. The cult has carried the doctrine to every land into which it has gone, from Iberia to the Malay Peninsula, and possibly to the Philippines. Many Negro tribes and other preliterate peoples who have come under the spell of Islam have produced messiahs or mahdis. In almost every Christian land there have been several messiahs. In European countries the messianic concept is first evident in the expectation of the return of the national hero, Arthur, Friedrich Barbarossa, Olaf Trygvason, or Charlemagne.

The influence of Christianity in aboriginal American messianic movements was considerable. The Hopi, who produced the first known messiah north of Mexico, had been under the influence of Christian missionaries for many years, but Hopi messianic con-

cepts seem to be thoroughly aboriginal. The Indians of the eastern United States, among whom messianism flourished before and after the War of 1812, had previously been directly or indirectly under missionary influence; but it has not been possible to assess the stimulus of Christianity in their messianism. Soon after the organization of a messianic cult, the movement spread to neighboring tribes; so, too, did the Ghost Dance religion which originated about 1870 and was resuscitated about 1889. In each instance there had been Christian contacts, yet in the main the concepts were aboriginal. The Paviotso (Paiute) Ghost Dance of 1870 and 1890 was probably inspired by the Prophet Dance of the Northwest Coast and Plateau area, which flourished in the 1820's. The Prophet Dance complex as found, for example, among the Southern Okanagon, of Washington, involved three concepts which were prominent in the Ghost Dance: supernatural events (falling stars, earthquakes, and other portents) which herald the destruction of the world; the prophets' communication with God in dreams or by visits to the land of the dead, and—upon their return—preaching a righteous and God-fearing life; and performance of special dances and singing of special songs designed to ensure the salvation of adherents. An additional element was introduced by the arrival of the white man and the ensuing collapse of Indian culture.

Bernard Barber believed that the Ghost Dance led to acceptance of the Peyote cult, which was adopted in many Plains tribes after 1890, and that each movement was, in part, a response to similar social and cultural conditions. Both movements transcended the original tribal boundaries. Perhaps the Ghost Dance, by stimulating friendly intertribal contacts, facilitated the spread of the Peyote cult.

In Mexico a messianic belief in the return of Quetzalcoatl was present before the Spaniards came, and possibly had already permeated portions of South America. The Peruvian expectation of the return of the Child of the Sun, which likewise appears to be aboriginal, possibly was related historically to the Quetzalcoatl legend. How extensively the Quetzalcoatl concept was diffused cannot be determined; the messianic manifestations reported from South America occurred in the Guianas, northeastern Brazil, Peru, and the Chaco. Myth plots and motives traveled great distances in aboriginal cultures; it is not improbable that the Quetzalcoatl messianic concept, in at least modified form, had reached those

South American tribes in which a messiah is known to have appeared. Similarly, the Tuka religion in Fiji was said to have been inspired by the New Zealand messianic movement initiated by the "mad prophet" Kooti.

Almost certainly the Indo-European beliefs in the return of the hero had a single origin, and were traceable ultimately to Sumerian or to Egyptian civilization. The concept was not reported in Eastern Asia until after the introduction of Buddhism. It has had a limited distribution in the Old World and was found only in contiguous or historically related areas. It has persisted from the time of Hammurapi to the present, and has influenced not only beliefs but also the actions of peoples. Its recurrence has been as certain, if not as regular, as the reappearance of a comet. The concept of the return of the hero affords many examples of the influence of an idea upon historic events. Not all peoples have been equally receptive; but successive disappointments have not sufficed to induce people to reject this concept.

Through the centuries the weft of the messianic idea has crossed the warp of political, social, religious, and ethical life, with much repetition of pattern, and even of details. In each culture the messianic concept and the messianic movements have had unique expression. They have conformed to the prevailing culture patterns and have varied with time and with place. Even in the same land concurrent movements within different sects have been to some extent distinct in character. Despite this, however, there have been many interpenetrations of messianic concepts and many syncretisms. In the first century A.D., Jewish expectation of the near advent of the messianic era was widely reflected in Roman messianism. Both movements were influenced by the Christian belief that Jesus would return in the immediate future. Frequently revival of messianic hope among a people has occasioned its revival in another culture. As a result, messianic resurgences in two cultures have often been synchronous, or nearly so: "a mahdi in Islam was often accompanied by a messiah in Judaism." The Christian concept of the return of Jesus has been an inspiration to Mohammedans, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, and several preliterate peoples. Some Mohammedan mahdis have claimed to be Jesus; and at various times belief in the return of Jesus has been cited by Mohammedan theologians in India or in Mediterranean lands to support the claim that a designated mahdi would return in the flesh

to save his people. During the seventeenth century, when Europe was restive with millennial expectation, the Jewish Sabbathaian movement flourished. This, in turn, created much interest in messianism throughout Christendom and Islam, and stimulated at least one mahdi.

These interactions and syncretisms were amply illustrated in India, a land of many historic faiths, where Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism have met. Most messianic movements in India during the last century illustrate syncretism. The messiah has sometimes been Christian, Mohammedan, Hindu, and Buddhist, all in one, and usually has included the concepts of two or more of these sects; for example, Adam's Peak, in Ceylon, is a religious beacon for Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism. In Persia, also, there have been mergings of the messianic expectations of more than one sect, and in China and Japan messianism has been an amalgam of Christian and Buddhist concepts.

Throughout the world, a messianic movement in one sect has helped to keep alive similar movements in other sects. Frequently the competitors have been involuntary allies, for a messianic movement has seldom flourished in cultural isolation from other movements.

Chapter XIII

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MESSIANISM

In the early Mediterranean world messianism was linked with political aspirations and a profound desire for social reform. Political oppression stimulated messiahs, who, in turn, fanned patriotic ardor.

The threat of Assyria inspired the words of *Amos*. *Isaiah* declared Persia a scourge in the hands of the Lord to punish Israel and Assyria for their wickedness. The belief that an ideal king would rule in Jerusalem was perhaps inspired by the political situation at the end of Hezekiah's reign. Jesus was condemned and executed on a political charge involving the question of messiahship. Jewish messiahs were involved in political movements. In the third century A.D., however, Jewish teachers declared the messiah would not come until the haughty had disappeared from Israel.

Mohammedan mahdis have occasioned much political disturbance. The Wahabis sought emancipation from the shams, ceremonials, and elaborate superstitions of Islam, revolted against their political oppressors, and fought for freedom from Turkish tyranny. The first rebellion in Andalusia after the death of Abd-el Rahman was fomented by devout theological students at Cordova. Throughout Mohammedan history, the more the masses felt themselves oppressed and humiliated by rulers of their own faith or by infidels, the more fervent was their longing for the restorer of Islam and the conquest of the world. The mahdist movement in the Sudan was inspired mainly by political oppression. The Bag-

gara, the first and most ardent followers of the mahdi, believed that he would free them from Egyptian rule—for he was the true and only commander of the faithful—and would conquer the whole world. As a matter of fact, the mahdi liberated them from the extortions of Egyptians, and, when death overtook him, was planning a campaign against Egypt.

Mohammedans, said an Arab scholar, considered religious fanaticism the best guarantee of national feeling and patriotic fervor, and the strongest weapon of resistance to foreign aggression. The new kingdom of Arabia was based primarily on the claims and sanctions of Islam. The Arabian revolution of 1917, though fomented by English influence and supported by English gold, was religious in origin. The proclamation issued by the Grand Sherif and the Ulema of Mecca quoted the *Koran* in justification of the revolution and called upon the Arabs to reestablish a pure State of Islam in accordance with the Sunnah and the sacred traditions of the Prophet. "The new Kingdom of Arabia," said the proclamation, "has the sanction in the book of Allah and is destined to revive the glory and the pristine purity of the Faith." None of the twenty-nine volumes which constitute the *Rulers of India* series contains an account of the activities of Indian mahdis or messiahs; yet faith in a mahdi who would regenerate Islam has fostered powerful revolutionary movements instigated by a mahdi or his forerunner. European powers having Mohammedan subjects have had some disturbing experiences with these movements, and Moslem chiefs likewise have had good reason to dislike them. Most Moslem rulers are suspicious of would-be mahdis, though a contented and prosperous population is poor soil for their doctrines. In many Mohammedan sects there has been an intimate association between messianism and political aspirations. The Bab who appeared at Ispahan, Persia, during the last century, professed no political aspirations. His followers were interested mainly in religious reform, yet during his lifetime they attacked the Government. In recent years they have fomented no political troubles; but those who reflect on Mohammed's influence on the Arabs know that the doctrines of the Bab may become a rallying point for the Persians. Although Abbas Effendi recommended abstention from politics, his followers were accused of instigating the Constitutional Movement in Persia early in the present century.

The Chinese statesman Chu'u Yuan (332-295 B. C.) declared: "Heaven is man's Origin; and when oppressed with poverty he recalls his Source. For when men are overwrought and worn out, who is there that does not cry to heaven?" About the middle of the fourteenth century the Chinese confidently expected the early arrival of the Buddhist messiah, Maitreya, or Mih Fo, the fat and jolly Buddha of the Future, whose figure decorates many homes and shrines in China. The prevalent belief that he would visit the earth in human guise in 1368 led to a strong revival of nationalism—or was itself in part the product of such revival—and resulted in freedom from Mongol control. Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama opened the way to political intrigue.

In 1793 China prescribed the selection of the divine ruler by the "oracle of the urn," a lottery in which the names of competing infants were written on a slip of paper and placed in a golden urn. Prayer and other rites followed. The first name drawn indicated the fortunate one. In 1808 an Imperial edict gave official directions for the working of the scheme; the edict was engraved on stone slabs at the door of the great temple of Lhasa. On March 31, 1877, the *Peking Gazette* denounced a reincarnated Lama who had insulted the Imperial Chinese Resident at Lhasa and carried off the official seals. The publication announced that the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, had decreed as punishment for this offense that the Lama's soul would not be allowed to transmigrate when its earthly embodiment disintegrated. The Chinese Government required that a register of all incarnated gods in the Chinese Empire be kept in the Colonial Office at Peking. A hundred and sixty gods registered. Thirty of them were from Tibet, nineteen from northern Mongolia, and fifty-seven from southern Mongolia. The government forbade the gods on the register to be reborn outside of Tibet. The birth of a god in Mongolia, it was felt, might stir the dormant patriotism and warlike spirit of the Mongols and induce them to rally round an ambitious native deity of royal lineage and seek to win for him, at the point of the sword, a temporal as well as a spiritual kingdom.

The Taiping rebellion, a political as well as religious incident, was initiated by would-be reformers. It was also a social and economic revolt, an uprising of peasantry, hand-workers, and poor gentry against landlords, rich peasants, merchants, and wealthy gentry. A recent Chinese student of the movement interpreted it

as an attempt of the non-propertied classes to dispossess the privileged classes. Christianity was probably only a minor element, and suppression of the rebellion was due largely to the support given the Imperial Government by conservatives.

Since Constantine made Christianity the Roman state religion there has been in Christendom a close relation between politics and religion. Many sects have been concerned with political matters. The Camisards, Protestants of the Cevennes, whom Louis XIV sought to convert by force, were fortified in their resistance by prophecies of speedy deliverance, based on the Apocalypse. In England the middle of the seventeenth century witnessed intimately related religious and political upheavals. Reports of prophecies and miracles abounded. Under the impact of ruinous confiscations, confinement in prisons, hunger, and brutal treatment, individuals—even within the Established Church—asserted supernatural power, and new sects sprang up, with prophecy, miracle-working, hypnotism, convulsive ecstasy, or all of these manifestations, a part of their doctrine or ritual.

The messianism of primitive peoples has usually had a political tinge. The Ghost Dance religion which swept through a portion of the North American Plains area and northwest United States was inspired by a messiah who promised freedom from the whites and supernatural restoration of the old tribal life. South America, Africa, India, Melanesia, and Polynesia have had similar experiences.

In early Mediterranean civilizations the beliefs which made kings out of gods subsequently made gods out of kings. The ruler upon earth was supposed to have a powerful ally in the celestial ruler. The tendency to deify the king persisted, or was revived, in many European cultures. Concepts prevailed that "the King can do no wrong"; that he is head of the Church as well as of the state, and that "God is with him." A people having no king have shown a tendency to exalt some personage as the head of the state or the leader of a movement, and to attribute to him pseudo-messianic powers. He was not necessarily believed to perform religious miracles or to be supernatural, but he was considered superhuman, and was credited with powers scarcely inferior to those attributed to a messiah, though different in kind. Especially during crises, these powers and abilities were manifest and leaders became near-gods. The leader was the people's spokesman and

became the concentration and embodiment of the power of the people.

The disposition to thank the ruler for all earthly blessings and to hold him responsible for all human ills is as old as Egypt and Babylonia. Early writers who believed that man had fallen from high estate and had lost the innocence and simple pleasures of the Golden Age attributed his downfall to the inadequacy or the viciousness of his rulers. This was Plato's picture in the *Laws;* it was Stoic doctrine; and this view was presented by Lucretius in *The Nature of Things.* The conviction has continued. In the popular mind, Washington made this nation, and Lincoln saved it. Each election year some men have looked to a new "messiah." Mussolini has been Italy and Hitler has been Germany, as Kemal Ataturk was Turkey. Nationalism has exalted the ruler and the ruler has exalted and extolled nationalism.

Men have continued to demand a symbol. The logician and the scientist have remembered that the symbol is only a symbol, but often the people have forgotten. Citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations have believed the King holds the British Empire together. If one inquired of them why this was so, or how it was so, they replied that he alone was above politics and could influence no political issue; yet the British government has been so constituted that one could function in it only through a political party or by virtue of authority derived from a political party. A symbol could do nothing, yet without the symbol nothing could be done. Whitehead once referred to the symbol for zero as the "Gentleman" cipher; it did not work but made the others work. It had no value in itself, but it gave value to other digits. So, apparently, a British sovereign has held the Empire together merely by being sovereign. The mysticism of the King-hero required the semblance of political reality to be effective.

Hitler has been an outstanding example of the political messiah in modern times. At the close of the First World War Germany had lost more than a million men, had been stripped of its wealth and colonies, and was engulfed in social and political chaos. Inflation, which soared to astronomical levels, brought widespread ruin, especially to the middle classes. Dozens of political parties arose. Into this scene stepped Hitler in 1923. His rise to power need not be recounted here. Through Nazi racial theories, youth indoctrination, and propaganda on a scale never

before undertaken, Germany rapidly achieved tribal solidarity and unification.

Hitler galvanized an amorphous ameboid political life into an organization perfected to the last detail. He scattered cynicism and defeatism to the winds. Germans, Nazis proclaimed, think with their blood; they are a unified people in sentiment and purpose. They have only one Leader; all are ready to die in his cause. For did he not, millennial fashion, promise them a regenerated Germany, which will last a thousand years? In a chapter of *Mein Kampf* entitled "The Strong Man is Mightiest Alone," Hitler says:

> As soon as there appears a man who deeply recognizes the distress of his people and who now, after he has made absolutely clear to himself the nature of the disease seriously tries to remedy it, after he has focussed a goal and chosen a way that may lead to this goal—then immediately small and smallest minds become attentive and eagerly follow up the activity of this man who has drawn upon himself the eyes of the public. Exactly like sparrows who, apparently quite disinterested, but in reality most attentive, continuously watch a more fortunate comrade who has found a morsel of bread, so that suddenly, in an unguarded moment, they rob [him], thus do also these people . . . One must never forget that everything that is actually great in this world has not been fought for by coalitions, but was always the success of one individual victor.

The *Thuringische Staatszeitung* made this observation in 1933:

> We believe that the resurrection of our Fatherland reveals the work of God and that in His terrible sufferings the crucified Jesus has come to us and that the promise of salvation is Germany's task and wonderful mission to the world. We see the revelation of God not terminated in olden times but we see God alive amongst us and in our Leader, Adolf Hitler, his instrument in our days.

Western civilization has witnessed no parallel to the Nazi accomplishment; and never have our cherished ways of life been so suddenly or so disastrously imperilled. One now reads with new interest the "Conclusion" which Hitler added to *Mein Kampf* in 1926:

> Not all the persecutions of the movement and of its individual leaders, not all the defamations and slanders, have been able to do it any harm. The correctness of its ideas, the purity of its purposes, the readiness of its adherents to sacrifice, have thus far enabled it to emerge from all oppressions stronger than ever. A State which, in the epoch of race poisoning, dedicates itself to the cherishing of its best racial elements, must some day be master of the world. Let the adherents of our movement never forget this, should ever the greatness of the sacrifice lead them to a fearful comparison with the possible triumph.

Chapter XIV

BUILDERS OF UTOPIA

Who has not, with St. Bernard, had a vision of Zion? "O Zion, thou city sole and single, mystic mansion hidden away in the heavens, now I rejoice in thee, now I moan for thee and mourn and yearn for thee; often I pass through thee in the heart, as I cannot in the body, for being but earthly flesh and fleshly earth soon I fall back." Zion, though celestial, is of this world; and Utopia, though nowhere, is everywhere. The New Jerusalem is built by the heart; Utopia is created by hope, imagination, and genius.

In one of the most famous of all Utopias, Plato built his Republic on solid foundations, taking into account the needs, purposes, and motivations of individuals. His Utopia provided for all the important needs of the state by a eugenic program; by giving the rulers an education superior to that of other citizens; by adequate military defense; and a system of ownership, for at least a portion of the people, which would abolish the envies and jealousies fostered by inequality of possessions. Plato took into consideration, so he believed, every fundamental need of social and individual life, but he omitted one all-important factor—the world beyond Athens. Athens encompassed Plato's Utopia, as his Utopia encompassed Athens.

The Stoics, on the other hand, were not narrowly circumscribed in their vision of the world. They emphasized the relativity of social values and championed a genuine cosmopolitanism. Athenian civilization, they pointed out, might be the best of civilizations to an Athenian, but it was not necessarily the best to a

Spartan or a Corinthian. Moreover, men were different only insofar as historic accident had made them so. Hence the Stoic Utopia was a world state in which all men would be treated as equal and there would be no political or social discrimination because of race or creed. Marcus Aurelius said: "As a Roman, I am the Emperor; but as a man I am a citizen of the world." Stoics were citizens of the world; provincialism reflected intellectual limitations defined by geographic boundaries. A similar view was presented by St. Augustine, in theological guise, in the *City of God.* All men who would accept Christianity would be members of that city, and the souls of those who had preceded them to the next world would share that great citizenship. Heaven and earth, the living and the dead, past, present, and future were gathered into the great fold of the elect. Participation in this citizenship enhanced the life of each and all.

Sir Thomas More, steeped in the classical learning of the Renaissance, inherited these ideas. He was, however, much more than a classical scholar; he was a man of affairs, endowed with broad sympathies and warm fellow-feeling, and he possessed a keen insight into contemporary English society. A rare wit accompanied a ripe wisdom. His perspicacity in social and political affairs suggests a Benjamin Franklin rather than the traditional saint. More made the word "Utopia" famous in the English language; but perhaps the language has played him false in emphasizing the "nowhere."

The seventeenth century, replete with millennial expectations, brought a number of Utopias, some serious, some comic, some serio-comic. The period following the French Revolution—when men were remaking the political world and instituting social reforms—was almost equally fertile in Utopias. Cabet's *Icaria* illustrated both the best and the worst of these. Icaria was a social palace of industry and applied arts in which many later improvements in technique were anticipated. Here a smoothly functioning socialism eliminated the hazards which characterized capitalistic society. In Bellamy's *Looking Backward,* translated into almost every European language and read by millions of people in Europe and the United States, technics and socialism solved all the problems and a merit system awarded prestige to the deserving. H. G. Wells' *Modern Utopia* was modern in every respect, particularly in taking account of the realities of an everyday social life carried

on by commonplace individuals; and in allowing for desirable changes. Yet a Utopia whose main characteristic was change would not satisfy men very long; for there must be, despite change, a continuity in something that was fundamental. Utopia must be based on the needs of human nature and on the demands which men make of their fellows and of nature.

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* invited the reader to examine closely modern Western civilization, particularly as it is exemplified in the totalitarian state, and to ponder the things explicit and implicit in this organization. It included propaganda, advertising, breeding for low-brows and for high-brows, dictators, mass action, intolerance of individual departure from prescribed social and political patterns, and substitution of machinery and organization for exuberant or creative play of imagination.

In the tragic fifth decade of the twentieth century all that was portrayed in *Brave New World* is present in almost the predicted magnified proportions. But the past has too strong a hold on the present to permit the supposition that men shall soon escape its compulsions. The collision of stars which sent the planets spinning around the sun has not spent its force; neither has passed that evolutionary force which shook our remote forebears from the trees, loosed their tongues, placed a stone in one hand, a stick in the other, and sent them forth to subdue the world and one another. As Boucher De Perthes remarked, the man who fashioned the first stone implement built the Parthenon. The paleolithic man who summoned his fellows to join in a raid on the Mousterian cave started two world wars and now keeps the planet in turmoil and trouble. Moses gave us our law, Plato our philosophy and idealism, ancient Egypt our messianic hope, the ancient Greeks our Utopias. The past seems to be the one thing from which we cannot escape; for we are the past. We may thrust it behind us, but it overtakes us. The past not only gives impetus to the present, it anticipates the present and establishes itself in the future.

* * *

To Adam and Eve it must have seemed that Paradise would last forever. It was the only world they had experienced and, we may surmise, the only one their imaginations compassed. So it has been from the time of Adams and Eve to the present. Men anticipate a world of tomorrow much like that of today.

There was a time when men knew their social and cultural world at first hand. They knew, personally, all of their fellows who were directly responsible for tribal affairs. Today the social world is too multifarious for any one person to comprehend it. Social and political affairs are so numerous and so far-flung that we cannot cope with them. Many of them must be administered by specialists equipped with very specific training; some public affairs, to be conducted honestly and justly, must be conducted privately, however public their import. One of the many respects in which a modern democratic nation differs from an earlier community, even one as large and complex as, for example, ancient Athens, is the extent to which, in the modern nation, public men and affairs are remote from the common citizen. The agents and the agencies of government are de-personalized. The office and its duties, rather than the men who fill the office, become of primary importance, for an endless flow of individuals moves the machinery of government. We cannot directly perceive this complex world of men and affairs. Our ideas about it are based on abstractions, generalizations, analogies. If those ideas are a misrepresentation of the actual world, we respond not to actual things, but to fairies, goblins, and mirages.

Some orient themselves in their world and universe as though they, individually, were the center of all things. Many assess themselves and their importance primarily in terms of the importance of their social group and of their role in the group. To them, the group is more important than any of its members and is larger than any or all of its members—unless its membership be taken to include its past, present, and future. To those who are thus socially minded a message of salvation for the group, if the message seems wise, will be listened to with respect. The attention which it receives depends, however, not only upon its character, but also upon the predisposition of the hearers. While all goes well with the group and its culture, the would-be messiah pleads in vain; only when obvious disintegration is under way will the members of a group have much concern for its fate. Preliterate peoples, in various parts of the world, exemplify this principle. Historic cultures, from the days of ancient Egypt and Old Testament times to the present century, tell the same story. The messiah imparts faith and courage to a wavering people, and bolsters a culture which seems to be tottering to its fall. Generally he calls

upon his people to do something about their troubles and their circumstances. If he can galvanize them into action, he can make them shake off their lethargy and live more zealously, or at least preface failure with purpose. Action is a solvent of despair. Men will undergo hardship and toil, danger and death, if they are convinced that the sacrifice is to some purpose.

The messiah promises salvation; but he tells his followers, truthfully, that salvation comes only at a price. The messiah can and does demand that his followers risk life, wealth, and happiness, friends and home—all that they hold dear. Gladly do men pay the price if they believe the promise. In the last analysis those who accept and follow a messiah must hold themselves responsible for accepting the message. Meanwhile the sceptics may well ponder the extent to which faith and the faithful make history. For there is historic truth as well as hope, faith, and vision, in Blake's "Jerusalem" as there is in St. Bernard's:

> I will not cease from Mental Flight
> Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In England's green and pleasant land.

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The following abbreviations are used: AA, *American Anthropologist,* New Series; ABE, *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology;* EB, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (14th edition, 1929); ERE, *Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics;* JAI, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

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